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THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE IN THE COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

RESEARCH REPORT

The news media and perceptions of violence

Anthony N. Doob

and

Glenn E. Macdonald

1976



PRE-PUBLICATION COPY

The views expressed in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, whose conclusions will be presented in its Final Report.

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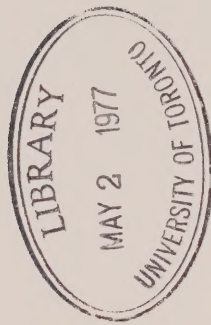


Table of Contents

	Page
A) A survey of findings and conclusions	1
B) The effects of the media upon social perceptions, with specific reference to violence: a literature review	14
C) Original research	36
Study I: Pretest survey	36
Study II: The effects of variations in stranger/acquaintance and location: print	48
Study III: The effects of variations in the location of a crime and the relationship of victim to assailant with group discussion: print	53
Study IV: The effects of variation in the location of a crime and the relationship of victim to assailant with group discussion: print (Replication of Study III)	57
Study V: The effect of variation in the relationship of victim to assailant: Newsprint	60
Study VI: The effect of variation in location of a crime: Newsprint	63
Study VII: The effect of authoritative information concerning victim-assailant relationship: Newsprint	66
Study VIII: The effect of variation in the relationship of victim to assailant: Radio News	69
Study IX: The effect of authoritative information concerning victim-assailant relationship: Radio News	71
Study X: The effect of authoritative information concerning victim-assailant relationship: Television news	74
Study XI: Survey of media usage and social perceptions in high and low crime areas of Toronto	78
Study XII: A sampling of the treatment of violence by Toronto newspapers by Julian Roberts	100
Study XIII: An examination of one newspaper's attempt to set the incidence of violence in perspective	155

Table of Contents (Continued)

D) References	163
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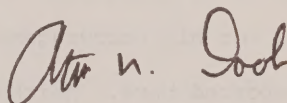
E) Appendices	166
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Preface

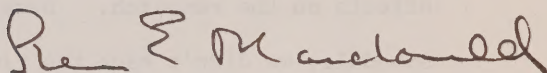
The research reported in this paper was performed over a seven month period in 1976. It was sponsored by the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry. We wish to thank Mr. C. K. Marchant, the Director of Research of that Commission, for his encouragement and support of the original research reported here. Neither of us had ever before attempted to do this amount of research in such a short time. As it turned out, these time constraints had both beneficial and detrimental effects on the research. Because we had to work to such a tight schedule, we didn't have the time to spend much time worrying about which of a number of ways of approaching a problem was "best." Usually, we simply had to collect the data without the luxury of elaborate pretesting and changing of stimulus materials and measures. Given the exploratory nature of much of this research, this "problem" turned out to be less serious than we had thought. What was more unfortunate was the fact that we were not able to follow up a number of questions that deserve more attention. We expect, therefore, that many readers will ask themselves "Why didn't the researchers do this, or that, or something more on a particular problem?" The answer is simple: All questions cannot be answered in a seven month period. We do feel, however, that there are some provocative findings that easily justify our time and the Commission's money that was invested in the project.

We wish to thank Mr. Julian Roberts for his tireless work on this project. His ingenuity in finding solutions to problems, his imagination and intelligence in designing stimulus materials and dependent measures, and his knowledge both of the content

area and research design, all combined with an enormous amount of work and dedication on his part to produce a report more comprehensive than we thought possible in the (short) time available.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Anthony N. Doob". The script is fluid and cursive, with the first name being more prominent.

Anthony N. Doob

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Glenn E. Macdonald". The script is cursive, with the last name being more prominent.

Glenn E. Macdonald

Toronto, Ontario
January, 1977

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE
IN THE COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

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A: A survey of findings and conclusions

The purpose of the research reported in this report is to examine the effects of news media (television, radio, newspapers) on people's perception of violence in the world around them. Obviously, this is an impossibly large topic, and, as a result, we have narrowed our focus to two main approaches. In one set of studies, we tried to manipulate the kind of news information people were getting (in an experimental setting) and then see how this affected their perception of the general kind of violence they had just been exposed to. Secondly, through a survey, we tried to measure the feelings that people had for their environment in terms of frequency of violence, location of violence, relationships between attacker and victim and measures to counteract violence.

All of this research deals with the question of social perception. We have left to others the question of whether these effects are translated in various ways into behaviour. Thus, in this report, when we talk about the effects of the media, we are not concerning ourselves with questions such as whether the portrayal of violence in the media is likely to make people more aggressive or altruistic; rather we are concerning ourselves with whether the portrayal of violence makes people feel that the world around them is a violent place.

In terms of social cost, distorted social perceptions can be every bit as expensive, if not more so, as anti-social behaviour. To come to believe that strangers are enemies or that public places and facilities are dangerous is every bit as destructive to the fabric of a society as violent behaviour itself. In fact, history has shown that to some degree a wide variety of social sanctions can curb

violent behaviour. However, we have not yet learned how to convince members of society that they should not avoid people and places when they have been convinced, in many cases wrongly, that such people and places are dangerous. Recent experience in this regard has shown that there seems to be a very powerful social force at work. Exaggerated fears tend to cause people to avoid places, facilities, and certain classes of other people and this in turn leads, in fact, to increased violence associated with those very elements that are being avoided. Such a positive feedback loop once established seems difficult to break. And, there are numerous North American examples of the social and economic cost of such situations.

In some ways, of course, it is impossible to deny that the media shape our view of the world. As behavioural scientists, we find it difficult to conceive of the possibility that the reporting of particular kinds of incidents in the media will not affect our general view of the world in which we live. People obviously build up a general view of the world in which they live from the specific incidents that they experience directly, or that they hear about from others, or that they read, hear, or see, in the media.

The problem, of course, is that the media cannot give what might be called an "accurate" view of the world that they are reporting. What is news is, for the most part, what is unusual. This, then, leads to the basic problem: It could be argued that the media are reporting events because they are unusual, yet the view that people have of their world is based on the integration of all of these unusual events. Furthermore, it is possible that at times the media actually try to make unusual events sound to be more usual: It is,

perhaps, more newsworthy if one can convince an audience that something that they might have thought was unusual is, in fact, a common event. Thus, for example, in reporting an apparently racially motivated attack on two people on the subway on New Year's Eve (1976), Peter Silverman, of Global News reported in his most dramatic and concerned voice that "This is the second such racial incident on Toronto's subways in less than a year". (Note that although this quote is as accurate as we can recall, it may not be perfectly accurate. The sense of the statement, however, was as indicated.) In other words, perhaps to make news on an otherwise slow day for news, Silverman implied that this was a common event on Toronto's subways. Another way of reporting that same event would be to say that "There have only been two such incidents reported in the past year". From our point of view, it would appear that Silverman's way of reporting the event makes the subway seem more dangerous than would a more "neutral" way of presenting the event. The general point, however, is that different ways of presenting events can affect the way in which we see events generally.

Given that the media are, by their very nature, going to be reporting unusual events, what can be done? One way might be to consider various ways in which news can be reported to the public. Presumably one of the functions that the news media have for themselves is to educate people about the way things "really are" in society. Reporting unusual events as just that -- unusual events -- may be one way in which their importance can be kept in perspective.

The existing literature (which is summarized in Section B of this report) indicates that there is relatively little research that

has been done on the question of the effects of the media on people's views of how dangerous is the world in which they live. That work which has been completed in this area is highly speculative and the results are far from specific. A number of studies, not surprisingly, have shown that the frequency of news stories, particularly in newspapers, does not match the actual frequency of the events reported. The distortion is always in the direction of over-reporting crime and violent crime. Taken as a whole, this previous literature strongly suggests that the media are responsible for distorted social perception of violence. However, there is little straightforward evidence as to specific effects or the mechanics of such effects.

Thus, partly for practical reasons and partly due to historical accident, the emphasis in the empirical research work has been on the behavioural effects of the media. We, then, took a very different tack. We asked the question (in its most general form): Does the exposure in the media to reports of individual crimes make people feel that they live in a dangerous world. In Canada, we are in an unusual, and perhaps unfortunate, position: By having access to the American media, we are likely to be exposed to an amount of violence that even exceeds their high level of societal violence. Furthermore, since our level of societal violence is (particularly in the cities) considerably lower than theirs, if residents of Canada learn about societal violence from the U.S. media, it is inevitable that their estimates will be too high.

The first set of studies that we did were experimental in nature. They, and their results, are described fully elsewhere in this report. In general, all these studies involved presenting news reports of

violent crime and for example, as our experimental manipulation, adding factual background information to the report. Groups of subjects read either the "straight" story or the story with supplementary information and then responded to a series of questions covering their beliefs about violence as they pertained to the incidents in question. Because of the time constraints on us, we were not able to explore as deeply as we might have wanted to the exact situations which seem to increase the likelihood that people's view of the likelihood of certain kinds of crime will increase. As you will see from reading the detailed reports of the experiments, we did not always find significant differences due to our manipulations. However, it did appear that under some circumstances certain variables did have an effect. In Studies V and VIII, for example, we varied the relationship between the victim of a crime and his assailant. In both of these experiments, the manipulations had some effects. In Study V, for example, when a beating was described as being committed by strangers, people were more likely to see victims of assaults generally as having been completely unknown to their assailants than if they read of a beating having been performed by someone previously known to the victim.

Question 10 of the survey (see Study XI), people generally feel that they are much more likely to be seriously harmed by a complete stranger than by someone whom they previously knew. (As the statistics indicate, most real violence is committed by persons previously known to the victim.)

Taking these two findings together, one might infer that because a beating by a complete stranger is newsworthy, whereas a fight between relatives or neighbours is not, it is the former kind of crime that is likely to be reported. Hence, most people feel that assaults normally are between complete strangers: that is what they read about in the newspapers.

However, the results of our experiments on this issue are not completely clear: In Study VIII, we varied the same variable, and the results were somewhat different. In that study, one group of people listened to what they thought was a recording of a radio newsbroadcast in which there were no stories involving crime. A second group of people heard the same broadcast except there was a story included in which a person was beaten up by some strangers. A third group of people heard the newsbroadcast with the assault described, except for them, the apparent assailants were relatives of the victim. In this experiment, hearing about the assault no matter who was described as being the assailant increased the perceived likelihood that strangers are the ones who commit such crimes. Thus, hearing about the crime affected the subjects' perceptions of the victim-assailant relationship, but the actual relationship described had no effect. We have no straightforward explanation for this finding, except, perhaps, to suggest that the manipulation of relationship was not as strong as it might have been.

More consistent are our findings on giving people information about how unusual a crime is in the society in which they live. In three separate experiments, using newsprint (Study VII), radio (Study IX) and television (Study X), a murder was described as apparently having been committed by a stranger to the victim. One group of subjects simply got the straight story about the murder. A second group of people read/heard/watched the same story except they were given "authoritative" information (attributed to a police officer) that such murders between complete strangers were rare. A third (control) group did not read/hear/see a story about the murder. In

all three experiments, the "authoritative information" had an educative effect: although people had just heard about a murder, which apparently was perpetrated by a stranger to the victim, they were dramatically influenced by the information that it was unusual.

It may not always be possible to put a given crime in a context such as this. However, these studies do show rather convincingly that it is one way in which the media, if they want to, can have an educative effect on the people exposed to it. In this way, events which are particularly unusual might be reported but would not have dramatic effects on the public's perception of crime.

Thus, with people apparently overestimating the number of violent crimes that take place in the subway (see Questions 5, 26 and 27 of the survey, Study XI), it might be helpful to try to give information about the likelihood of a person's being a victim of a crime on a subway when the next "subway incident" is reported.

A further study showed, however, that stories about how crime is overestimated are not invariably going to have dramatic effects on people's perception of crime. The feature story in the Weekend Toronto Star that served as the stimulus for Study XIII demonstrates that quite convincingly. In that study, people were asked to read the front section of the Star which reported that people tend to overestimate crime. However, the material that was presented and the manner in which it was presented, tended it appears to counteract the "good" effect that was apparently intended: talking about crimes that have taken place and giving people information on how to avoid crimes would appear, if anything, to reinforce the belief that crime is all around us.

Gerbner in his series of studies relating television viewing to feelings of vulnerability has suggested that people who watch a lot of television are more likely, because of the content of that television, to view the world around them as dangerous. The hypothetical mechanism for this, presumably, is that the material that a person exposes himself to on television becomes reality. Given that there tends to be an overrepresentation of violence on television (compared to what the world is really like), those who watch television perceive reality as violent.

As the most simple level we replicated Gerbner's results: As reported elsewhere in this paper, there is a significant relationship between T.V. viewing and perception of the likelihood of various violent events. Looking at these results question by question (see Study XI or Appendix 11 for copies of the exact questions) we find that the more T.V. people watch the higher the perceived likelihood of being a victim of a street crime (Question 2), the higher the perceived likelihood of a child's being attacked in a park (Question 3), the higher the perceived likelihood of an adult's being attacked in a park (Question 4), the higher the perceived likelihood of a woman's being a victim of a violent crime in a subway (Question 5), the higher the perceived likelihood of the respondent or a close friend or relative of being the victim of a serious assault during the next year (Question 6), the higher the likelihood that there are areas near where they live where they are afraid to walk alone at night (Question 9) and so on. However, we believe that this is an oversimplification of the findings.

In the first place, it must be emphasized that all of these correlations are very small. Though significant (partly because there were over 400 respondents to the questionnaire), television viewing does not account for much of the variation in how dangerous people view their environment. The correlations just mentioned account typically for less than 10% of the variance.

Secondly, as we have pointed out in the more complete report of the survey findings, these correlations appear in many cases to be an artifact of the fact that various other social characteristics vary with television viewing. For example, the people in the low crime area of the city of Toronto watched about half as much television as did the people in the downtown high crime area. To the extent that people's view of crime is positively correlated with reality, then, one would expect a correlation: It is more dangerous in the area of Carlton and Sherbourne Streets than it is at Avenue Road and Eglinton. The people downtown watch more television: Hence the overall correlation.

As we indicate in more detail later in the report, there are some correlations that seem to be consistent in all of our sampled areas. These, too, however, could easily be interpreted not as television causing people to view their environment as dangerous, but rather as due to other social characteristics that are uncontrolled in the survey that we did. Thus, for example, if total T.V. viewing is correlated with some variable such as social class, and belief that people should arm themselves is also a function of social class, then the correlation that we report between television viewing and feeling that people should be armed may be an artifact of social class variation.

We are left, then, with what might appear, at first glance to be a contradiction: we found that exposure to particular stories had rather dramatic effects on people's views of the nature of certain kinds of crime, e.g., whether the crime was, in general, one that was likely to have been carried out by acquaintances or strangers, yet we are saying that the results of the survey question whether the amount of exposure to, for example, television, has much of an effect on people's views of the likelihood of certain kinds of crimes. In the first place, the incidents that showed consistent effect (murder) are rather dramatic and, happily, relatively unusual events. Furthermore, although there was a great deal of variation in the amount of exposure to the media in our survey, the overall amount was fairly high. We have listed below the overall amounts of exposure to the media to illustrate this point:

Total TV viewing	Mean of 29.9 programmes per week
Violent TV	Mean of 4.1 programmes per week
TV news	Mean of 4.17 programmes per week
News on radio	86.7% report listening to radio news at least 3-4 times per week
Newspaper	78.3% report "reading" a newspaper at least 3-4 times per week

It would appear that a dramatic event that might be reported in all three media would, almost definitely, come to the attention of just about everyone in the sample.

Thus, when one looks at the experimental studies along with the survey results, it seems quite possible to us that these dramatic incidents are going to have their effect on the population at large independent of the actual amount of exposure to the media: The dramatic events are going to be reported in such a way that people will hear of them either directly or in conversation with friends.

What can be recommended, then. In the first place, it seems to us that we must consider all of the news media rather than concentrating on any one. In our own experiments, we simulated, across different experiments, newspapers, radio and television and found reasonably similar results for all three. Probably the strongest recommendation to follow from our report is that the media should, much more than they do at the moment, try to put the events that they report in context. Obviously, the media are in the business of reporting unusual events. Unfortunately, certain kinds of data that point out exactly how unusual something is don't appear to make the news. A number of examples can be picked and some of the newspaper stories referred to in Study XII could be used as illustrations. Our own (partially fictitious) stories from the experiments are examples: Data could be presented when reporting crime on whether a particular crime fits into the general pattern. The problem in doing this is that we are suggesting that reasonably hard data be used: Not the impressions of newsreporters, or of anyone else. To the extent that stranger-to-stranger violence is unusual, for example, this could be reported in the context of the reporting of crimes. Clearly when two men who know each other start arguing and a fight begins, the fact that one is badly hurt isn't really as interesting (to anyone) as a

situation where one man attacks another whom he doesn't know on a street for no apparent reason. The second story, we suggest, is much more likely to be reported and we are not quarreling with this type of editorial decision. However, if the public perceives that the second type of event is much more likely than the first and in fact the opposite is true, then the media might want to consider trying to put these stories into context.

Similarly, although we don't have any hard data to suggest that it is happening, it seems possible to us that the reports of "racially motivated" attacks on the subway will make people (presumably particularly of non-white races) feel that the subway is dangerous. One might suggest that the context for stories like this could include investigations of whether the events were, indeed, racially motivated as opposed to being an attack by a white on a non-white for other than racial purposes. The fact that racial slogans are used does not necessarily mean that the event was "racially motivated"; they may merely be verbal abuse after the violence commenced. Similarly, it seems quite likely that similar incidents between members of the same race would probably be less likely to be reported even to the police. And, of course, in order to suggest that the subway is dangerous for anyone, one might want to consider the fact that almost a million fares are paid each day on the T.T.C. and presumably only a small portion of the riders of the T.T.C. have ever been victims of violent crimes.

Other kinds of incidents would be easier to put in some kind of context. Occasionally, when the perpetrator of a violent act is identified, it is found that he once spent some time (perhaps even recently) in a mental institution. This is clearly interesting to the public, and I suspect that a reporter who discovered this fact about

someone who has just acted in a violent manner would report this history of mental illness. The danger, of course, is not that people will learn this fact about the person in question, but rather that they will generalize it to all people who have once spent time in a mental hospital. Thus, "context" information might be the number of people released from the mental institution (during some appropriate time period) and the proportion of them who were involved in violence after their release. We suspect that such data would show that the "violent mental patient" was the exception rather than the rule.

In theory, there are two ways in which such information could be brought to the public's attention: Through the use of "feature" stories (see Study XIII) or by integrating the information into the news story. Our one study with one feature story would suggest that the "feature story" approach is not very effective. It is, of course, possible that the particular feature story used in this study was not optimally written. Further research would be needed in order to discover this. Quite possibly the mere discussion of crime in that story made it appear that crime was a real problem. We are not convinced, however, that this is likely to be a useful approach to the problem. The second possible method is, unfortunately, much more difficult. To suggest that reports of crime should include information about its likelihood in general means that those people writing about crime are going to have to do much more work for each story. Just as a doctor who finds that a patient who is taking a drug has a particular symptom must do background work to discover whether the drug causes the symptom, we are suggesting that the reporter of news should try to be more of a scientist when reporting the elements of violent events. In this way, the importance of any variable (race of the participants, relationship between the participants, etc.) can be put into context.

Since the explosion of the mass media in the early part of this century, their effects on behaviour and attitudes have come under much scrutiny from members of the public and the social sciences. The questions that have dominated research are easy to formulate but less easy to answer: whether the media do exert a strong influence, and if so, in exactly what ways?

The effects of the media seen from the perspective of vicarious living (their content providing models for public action and opinion) have been debated for a long time. In fact this question was raised as early as the sixteenth century. The writer Montaigne was well aware that the borderline between real and vicarious living was frequently blurred by the impact of a performance upon the actor or the audience. Researchers concerned with the impact of violent television on today's viewers are asking essentially the same question.

Early studies in the field of mass communications focused primarily on the newspapers. These have subsequently given way to the television and movie screen, which now dominate the field. Over the years there have been a number of projects that have focused upon different areas of the mass communications field and yet a definite pattern has still to emerge. Although many of the studies have little in common, it is perhaps still surprising that few general conclusions have been made to the satisfaction of more than just a few researchers. Most of the work has been carried out starting from the initial premise that the media do have some effects on social perceptions but even this basic assumption has been abandoned both prior and subsequent to some studies.

Many investigators take the cautious approach, best represented by Wilbur Schramm (1961), one of the most important researchers in the field, who after a number of years work came to the conclusion that "some kinds of communications on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effects". The remark is honest if not illuminating, and reflects the lack of consensus in much of the research up to now.

Given this rather pessimistic introduction, there are nevertheless a number of studies that produced significant results, which taken together begin to indicate several important conclusions concerning the effects of the media on a person's social perceptions, attitudes and social conduct. Some of these studies will now be summarized.

If the mass media are not as effective in changing people's perceptions as their ubiquity may lead us to believe, at least they do determine which issues are considered most important at the time. The news and entertainment media may not create our opinions outright but they do make us more aware of certain issues and suggest the amount of importance we should attach to them. With news, this is achieved by the amount and prominence of space or airtime that is allotted to each specific story. The stories we read and the broadcasts we listen to contain more than just a summary of the events in chronological order, they also contain everything that the editor or broadcaster considered important. The reader or listener will absorb not just the story but the editorial slant as well. This bias will be adopted - to a greater or a lesser degree, depending upon a number of variables - as his own. In any case, the reader or listener is deprived of the information or news which has not been covered or has been edited out.

There are some individuals for whom the mere process of committing a story to newsprint bestows upon it the mantle of truth. It is these who are most likely to have their perceptions of reality and subsequent behaviour drastically altered by what they read. Numerous examples have been produced to sustain this conclusion, the most spectacular instance of which was the Ahmedabad riot in India where rumours, once published by the papers, actually triggered a serious event.

In terms of specific media effects a study was carried out by Belson (1957) which investigated the effect, on people's attitudes, of a series of 30 minute television documentaries devoted to the treatment of mental illness. Viewers who had watched the series were compared to others who had not on a number of questions measuring knowledge of mental illness, attitudes towards therapeutic techniques and feelings about associating with ex-patients. The viewers were tested from one to fourteen days after the last show in the series. Among the results were the following: knowledge of mental illness was increased by the series, as was confidence in the ability of practioners, willingness to associate with an ex-patient and more importantly the proportion perceiving mental illness to be a major problem. In this example, a fairly small-scale series of programmes achieved a significant shift in viewer's perceptions of the subject matter. Whether this positive shift was more than just temporary is hard to say since no follow-up studies were carried out in the ensuing months or years.

A recent study presents some interesting findings concerning the relationship between the media's coverage of social issues and the

B: The effects of the media upon social perceptions,
with specific reference to violence: a literature
review

public's opinion as to what actually constituted the important problems. This study (Hubbard, Defleur and Defleur, 1975) was conducted in a medium-sized north-western city. An analysis of the media emphasis in local newspapers and television content was conducted. Social agencies in the area such as the police and the courts provided frequency data for a number of social problems and these were compared to the resident's concern for these problems as measured by public survey. It turned out that crime was the number one issue in the media but the number three in the public's eyes and number two in terms of agency records. The various issues are ranked in the following table:

PUBLIC	MEDIA EXPOSURE	AGENCY RECORDS
1. Unemployment	Crime	Unemployment
2. Juvenile Delinq.	Transportation disruptions	Crime
3. Crime	Discrimination	Alcoholism
4. Drug abuse	Unemployment	Transportation dis.
5. Alcoholism	Drug abuse	Juvenile Delinq.
6. Transportation dis.	Juvenile Delinquency	Mental Illness
7. Mental Illness	Sexual Deviancy	Sexual Deviancy
8. Sexual Deviancy	Mental Illness	Drug Abuse
9. Discrimination	Suicide	Discrimination
10. Suicide	Alcohol	Suicide

The most important problem to the public and the social agencies was unemployment which ranked fourth in media exposure. Transportation disruptions and disasters were ranked second in terms of media exposure yet only sixth in the public's eyes. Alcoholism placed third in the agencies' hierarchy but was at the end of the media's list. The media seem then to be emphasizing issues that were not so important to either the public or the social agencies. In terms of statistical analysis it was not possible to predict media emphasis given the ranks generated by the social agencies. Interestingly enough the

public's rankings were much closer to the more objective social agency ones. This implies that people are better informed than many researchers would have us believe. It also may lead some to believe that the hold of the media over public opinion is not as strong as was originally feared.

However, the results of a study by Davis (1951) suggest that the newspapers do have a definite effect on peoples' perceptions of a social issue such as the prevalence of crime. In his study of Colorado papers, Davis found that the amount of crime reported was not related to the amount recorded by the official statistics. When he measured public perceptions of the general crime picture, Davis found that the people concurred with the media trends, not the ones released by the official agency. Although no official figures will ever report the true incidence of every type of crime, they are probably the best estimates available. In this instance at least the public subscribed to the distorted image presented by the papers.

Another investigator (Roshier, 1973) assessed the selection of crime stories in a variety of newspapers and concluded that they deliver a distorted impression of criminal activity and that this trend is quite stable over time as well as being applicable to several diverse publications. If one accepts the proposition that the papers exaggerate some issues at the expense of others one has to question their basic purpose, namely informing and instructing the public. By stressing some issues, it is obvious they could be creating concern where it is unnecessary and diverting public attention from where it is vital.

In a study conducted in London, Ontario, Seacrest (1972) analyzed the local newspapers for a whole year and then compared their coverage of crime with public attitudes concerning the relative seriousness of various crimes. This study revealed a significant correlation between the amount of newspaper space given various types of crime and the public's perceptions of how serious they were. The main newspaper in question - The London Free Press - was also found to give far more coverage to rare crimes; in fact it did not reflect the actual trends of criminal activity in any way. A quote from the President's Commission (1967) on the public's fear of crime sums up this kind of research neatly:

"The fact is that most people experience crime vicariously through the daily press, periodicals, novels, radio, and television, and often the reported experiences of other persons. Their fear of crime may be more directly related to the quality and amount of this vicarious experience than it is to the actual risk of victimization."

Berelson and Steiner (1964) propose a cumulative effect model for the process of mass communications. According to these writers, when the media continue to force an issue on the public, following article by article and editorial by editorial, those members of the public that were in any way undecided to begin with, begin to drift into the position advocated by the press. Interest is generated in formerly apathetic viewers and where before there was only an uneasiness about some issue, now it is developed into a fully-fledged fear. Berelson and Steiner use data derived from political surveys to support this position.

The phenomenon of the undecided voter or someone uncommitted to an issue becoming more and more sure of his or her position as

the media campaign progresses, has been observed on several occasions. As the media campaign (prior to a referendum on the matter) related to Britain's application to the common market progressed, the nation gradually changed its stance from an antagonistic to a supportive position.

Over-exposure of some issue also intensifies person-to-person influence by promoting discussion of the topic. Who has not participated in a coffee-break discussion of the events or issues presented on the news the night before or in the papers earlier the same morning? Increased debate is in itself not without an effect; it raises awareness both of the topic and the concern of others. The impact of an event is greater knowing that both the editor of a major newspaper and the person at the next desk in one's office are offering their views.

There are studies (Lewin 1953, quoted in Berelson and Steiner (1964), that indicate group discussions are more effective in changing perceptions or attitudes than formal lectures or exposure to a television, radio, or newspaper bulletin. Perhaps the two are sequentially related on an everyday basis. If the media are responsible for determining the issues people consider important, they are also partly responsible for determining what people discuss in formal and informal groups. Having been influenced by a series of newspaper articles on a particular topic, members of the same office (department or company) are likely to discuss that topic when they converse. To quote Berelson and Steiner: "In general the use of both (mass media and personal discussion) together is most effective of all: the media provide the background, the personal contact is more likely to secure acceptance."

Just the act of participating, of passing along information, will lead to greater retention of that knowledge on the part of the informant. Someone passing along the contents of a newspaper story on, say, the increase of rapes in public places, is more likely to recall those contents than someone else who reads the same article but does not actively communicate it. This finding (Janis and King (1954) quoted in Berelson and Steiner 1964) was true regardless of the person's opinion on the matter described.

In a short paper that includes no experimental findings or correlational statistics, Bryan Wilson (1961) contends that "the full significance of the influence of television, radio, cinema and press will perhaps never be adequately measured, partly because their influence cannot be isolated and partly because this influence is gradual and cumulative." The media according to Wilson are "increasingly influential in moulding the climate of opinion - perhaps even more effective than the educational and religious agencies of our society." Since this article was written fifteen years ago many writers would now insert "certainly" in place of the qualification "perhaps" in that last sentence.

Wilson is aware that when attitudes change, values and behaviour will follow: what was prohibited yesterday is permissible today and perhaps desirable tomorrow. If people become more tolerant of violence in the city they are less likely to condemn acts of brutality. Even if they just believe others to be more tolerant of violence, they are more likely to expect it when it does occur. Their behaviour will reflect their changed attitude.

Among the points made by Wilson are the following: a) the media exaggerate the extent and frequency of crime and they add drama to purely factual; b) they have helped create a more tolerant climate for deviant behaviour; c) they have presented deviant behaviour as part of the youth culture and d) they have glamourized the criminal and thereby changed the public's attitude towards him from one of moral disapproval to qualified admiration. News, suggests Wilson, has become redefined as "socially deviant behaviour by individuals or groups".

There has certainly been an increase in the amount of space devoted to crime in the newspapers; studies from an earlier period indicate space percentages around three to seven % for the average American newspaper. A study cited in Lippmann's classic "Public Opinion" estimated that approximately 4-6% of the column space in pre-World War One papers was devoted to crime and violence. In another study by Harris the violent crime content remained at a constant level from 1890 through 1921. Seven % seems remarkably low by today's standards, even for the more tasteful and responsible publications. The proportion of column space devoted to crime in some papers is quite staggering, for example The Sun or The Daily Mail in England and The Toronto Sun in Canada.

There is at least one report that suggests the public may not in fact want so much brutality thrown at them by their daily newspapers. Howitt and Cumberbatch (1975) describe a study which found that a definite majority of the "News Of The World" readers thought their paper contained too much crime and violence. This paper incidentally is notorious for its insatiable appetite for crime, sex and violence.

The nearest equivalent this side of the Atlantic pales by comparison. This discrepancy between what the people say they want and what they actually read has been demonstrated on a number of occasions.

A further quote on the subject of the public's desire for sensationalism and the papers' willingness to gratify it, comes from an American writer:

"In fact the reason we have newspapers at all, in the modern sense of the term, is because about one hundred years ago, in 1835 to be exact, a few newspaper publishers in New York City and London discovered 1) that most human beings if they could read at all found it easier to read news than editorial opinion and 2) that the common man would rather be entertained than edified. At any rate it is the consistent application of the principle involved that the modern newspaper owes not merely its present character but its survival as a species." (Introduction to "News and the human interest story" by H.M. Hughes (1946).

Realism in the various media has recently become a very controversial issue. The more perceptive members of the population have always questioned the accuracy displayed by the media. A study by J.R. Dominick (1973) has not only quantified this accuracy but also sustained the skepticism. The fictional portrayal of the real world is seldom accurate and frequently presents an inverted picture of reality. A frequency table comparing television crimes to those that occur in real life revealed a negative correlation between the two. Murder and serious assaults are over-represented on the small screen while property offences and lesser crimes against the person are under-represented. In addition the vast majority of fictional murders and assaults are premeditated whereas in reality premeditated murders are the exception rather than the rule. Murders quite often take place between strangers in the fictional world when they are a rarity in real life. (Homicide in Canada, Statistics Canada, June 1976).

Perhaps the most ambitious and comprehensive research project in this field (Gerbner 1975, Gerbner and Gross 1976a, Gerbner and Gross 1976b) espouses the view that television is a unique medium and as such should be the object of special attention. The head of this project, George Gerbner, believes that the small screen is the "central cultural arm of American society". In this capacity it acts as a social stabilizer and reinforces conventional conceptions and values. This point about the social reinforcement effect of television is shared by, and possibly originated from, Herbert Marcuse, who claimed that television indoctrinates its audience, primarily but not exclusively on a political level.

For Gerbner the presence of violence in the media is a question of general long-term social effects rather than the direct modeling consequences which concern the experimental psychologists such as Berkowitz and Bandura. In fact, Gerbner rejects the experimental method, finding it hard to impose the rigid structure upon a variable such as television exposure, which is hard to pick out of the total cultural background. The world of television cannot be reduced by an atomistic model, its structure cannot be measured by exposure to one show, or series of shows.

Viewers do not just pick up cues on how to behave, they derive from television a basic knowledge of society's superstructure. More than that, television presents its audience with a global image of the nature of human affairs. It selects, invents, distorts and rejects material from real-life and then packages the new product in an entertaining style.

Gerbner and his associates describe the "Cultural Indicators" approach whereby large, representative sections of television's total output are monitored and analyzed. This analysis is then viewed in conjunction with estimates of the public's perceptions of social issues that could be affected by television. To each of the questions put to respondents in the surveys, there is a "television" answer, reflective of the world portrayed on television. The investigators then compare the number of television answers found in samples of light and heavy television consumers.

So far as content goes, Gerbner's analysis has uncovered some interesting trends in television drama. Three-quarters of all leading performers are male, American, upper-middle class and in their twenties. Apparently women are still to be found mainly in roles that are associated with sex or marriage. One fifth of the characters are employed in a violent occupation, either as criminals or law-enforcement officers. More importantly for this study, violence on television is only rarely a result of personal quarrels: for the most part it occurs between total strangers. This is the same impression one might get from the newspapers, where stranger-to-stranger violence is blown out of all proportion.

The most important part of Gerbner's research pertains to the effect of television on viewers' perceptions of social reality. In response to questions relating to their estimates of the likelihood of being involved in violence, the "heavy" T.V. viewers consistently chose the T.V. answer, (i.e. the one that was biased towards over-estimating this danger). Watching a lot of television seems to have the effect of developing exaggerated fears in its viewers.

People who watch a lot of television begin to see the real world along the lines of the fictional creation. Gerbner concludes that his data present us with strong evidence that this medium at least is having an adverse effect on its audience. We now have, as Gerbner says, "evidence to suggest that television viewing cultivates a general sense of danger and mistrust." The social consequences of this conclusion can only be detrimental to the community as a whole. A different and more complex interpretation of Gerbner's results can be found in Study XI of this report.

Despite the controversy in recent years surrounding the violence presented to television audiences, Gerbner notes that there has been no reduction in the overall violence index (measuring the amount of aggressive violence on T.V.). There has been a slight reduction in the amount carried during the networks "family hour". The recent decision by the United States Supreme Court declaring the family hour concept unconstitutional, may threaten this potential prime-time refuge from violent programmes. The networks are now less constrained from inserting the all-too violent, all-too popular crime shows in that time slot. One of Gerbner's early findings was that violence was portrayed in 8 out of every 10 televised plays from 1969-1970. There seems little reason to believe this trend has altered since.

R.K. Baker and his colleagues (1969) generated the following norms from Gerbner's data. The ensuing guide to behaviour then follows.

- 1) Non-whites are more violent, therefore avoid them if you want to avoid being assaulted.

- 2) Strangers are more likely to assault you (than someone you know) therefore avoid strangers.
- 3) Policemen are more likely to use violence than the average citizen, therefore expect violence from the police.
- 4) Witnesses to violent incidents do not get involved, therefore do likewise.
- 5) The use of violence often goes unpunished either formally or informally therefore violence may be employed without a strong chance of being punished.

There is certainly cause for concern if television viewers are extracting these perceptions and then modifying their behaviour accordingly. It is probably more than a coincidence that the type of crime given priority treatment by the newspapers, i.e. violent assaults and murders by strangers, is also the kind of assault most feared by the public. Most people in Canada at least are not aware that most violent assaults occur between people with some established relationship. If the papers were accurately reflecting patterns of crime the public would be more aware of the true incidence of crimes and less afraid of the kind that are dramatic but rare. In a public opinion poll conducted in the United States, 41% were afraid to walk at night in the area around their homes. This is presumably as a result of their fear for strangers. Seacrest quotes two sources (a National Opinion Research survey and another by the Bureau of Social Science Research) which both indicate that the vast majority of people derive their perceptions of crime from the news media and from personal communications, rather than from personal experience, specialized reading or government agencies.

Hartman and Husband (1974) ran a study investigating the impact of the media upon people's perceptions of the race problem in England. It has some interesting findings that pertain to the general effects of mass media. These authors gathered data from two groups, one of whom lived in an area containing a high percentage of non-white immigrants. These white residents were supposed to have obtained much of their information about coloured people from direct personal experience. The second group (again only white Britons) came from an area very low in non-white immigrants; residents of this area presumably derived their knowledge and attitudes from the media.

When they compared media-derived perceptions with others originating in personal experience, the authors found that the former seemed to relate to opinions about the general state of affairs whereas personal experience is more likely to shape an effective response such as a prejudicial attitude. The media seemed to determine the person's perception of the nature of the situation while his personal experience then affected how he felt about non-whites. Residents of the low personal experience (high media reliance) group listed far more problems associated with racial integration compared to others from a high personal experience (low media reliance) condition. In other words people who were forced to rely on the mass media perceived racial integration as a far greater social problem than other individuals who were more able to rely on personal experience with non-whites. Television was regarded as a reliable source of information whereas newspapers were treated with far more skepticism. The mass media became, naturally enough, more important as information sources as the opportunity for personal contact with coloured minorities decreased.

Hartmann and Husband cite the popularity of Mr. Enoch Powell with the British press as a good example of the medias' ability to alter public awareness of issues and individuals. From 1968 onwards this particular Member of Parliament became (and remains) as visible to the general public as any member of the Cabinet. This rise to prominence almost equalling that of the Prime Minister was secured solely by his controversial and extremist view on immigration controls, which were exploited by the press from the moment they were first expounded.

The authors state that "the kinds of meaning that race-related words are likely to acquire through persistent use in these kinds of contexts are fairly obvious. For a hypothetical person whose understanding of the (racial) situation came solely from reading headlines, "race" would be likely to acquire connotations of conflict, dispute and violence in some degree at least. Specifically race rows, rumpuses and racial clashes would appear to be fairly common occurrences, with a good sprinkling of riots, killings and shootings." The press are then, altering the public's perceptions not just of the non-white population but also about the nature of racial conflict.

When they analyzed various newspapers for material on race relations the authors found a close correspondence with the perceptions derived by the people from the media. The channels of mass communication were having a strong effect on the residents who had little personal contact with non-whites. Hartmann and Husband sum up their research findings in the following manner: "It is clear that the press (and the news media in general) have not merely reflected public consciousness on matters of race and colour but have played a significant part in shaping this consciousness".

In this connection an article by T.A. Knopf (1970) on the subject of media myths is worth mentioning. By being inaccurate about race "riots" for example, many newspapers create an unnecessary and dangerous atmosphere of fear in the population. The media build up a vocabulary of their own, in which key phrases are repeated time and time again. Value laden words receive unusual emphasis. The participants of such an event become "marauders" not "men", they rove rather than "run", they move in "gangs" not groups; they engage in vandalism instead of violence, since the former implies senseless, random destruction. Knopf also points to the way a word such as "riot" is now applied to any small or large gathering where some destruction occurs. Its original meaning is by now totally obscured.* Knopf continues: "The effect of such treatment by the media is to pander to the public's prejudice, reinforcing stereotypes, myths, and other outmoded beliefs. The media not only frighten the public but confuse it as well."

An interesting study by Singer (1970) looked at the effect of the media's reporting of violence on peoples' subsequent behavioural response to that violence. This researcher asked people some of whom had been arrested for participating in a riot a) how they had heard about the riot and b) whether they had passed along the information. It turned out that 51% of those that had heard from television informed another person as opposed to the 28% of those who were actually present and subsequently passed the word. Having seen the riot at first hand people were less likely to communicate the event to others. Clearly the impact of watching a news programme generated a different response. This may tell us something about the nature of vicarious

*For a local example of the misuse of this word see the Toronto Sun headline of September 7 in which a boisterous crowd of teenagers were described under the following headline: KISS KIDS RIOT.

participation. Most people would be physically and mentally repulsed were they ever unfortunate enough to witness a murder at close quarters, yet the same individuals will eagerly tune into a violent T.V. show expecting to see at least one or two murders per episode. Needless to say their expectations are seldom disappointed.

Although it is hard to say which of the various forms of the media is the most effective at changing our perceptions or attitudes there is a study by W.H. Wilke (reported in Schramm 1961) that attempted to compare some of them. In this study identical material was presented in person, by a remote speaker, and in print to three different groups of people. The three methods of presentation were differentially effective, and in that order, print being the least able to modify the audience's attitudes.

Crime stories, especially violent ones, seem to figure prominently in many forms of the news media, but what direct experimental evidence do we have to support the notion that this is harmful to the audience? In a study by Hornstein et al (1975), people were exposed to a news broadcast that reflected either the best or the worst aspects of human nature, depending upon the experimental condition to which the people were assigned. One broadcast described a man who as a gesture of altruism donated a kidney to a needy patient; the other story (the "bad" news condition) contained an account of a brutal case of murder. After being exposed to the broadcast subjects had to participate in a matrix game where they were able to choose between co-operating or competing with a co-player, whom they could not see.

Subjects who had listened to the "good" news broadcast chose

to play co-operatively and expected others to do the same more often than those subjects who had been exposed to the "bad" news bulletin. Thus the news bulletin had the effect of changing their later behaviour, which in this case was an interaction with a total stranger. If the matrix game behaviour is representative of everyday activity - and there are some who contend that it is not - then this is an example of the news media directly affecting people's interactions with others.

The same authors ran a subsequent experiment along the same lines but this time instead of the matrix game the subjects were asked a series of questions which measured their opinions of other people. Those who listened to the "good" news broadcast were more inclined to believe that people in general are concerned about the well-being of their fellow-man. In this subsequent experiment people's attitudes towards others were significantly different after the news bulletins. These results become particularly salient when one bears in mind the media's propensity for publicizing the shocking and the tragic at the expense of more altruistic actions. The former are almost universally regarded as more "newsworthy" than the latter.

The same authors ran another study, this time varying the amount of social information contained in the newscasts. Bulletins that contained non-social information (the events described were a result of natural phenomena) did not have an effect on later behaviour. An example from the bad news condition involving this type of information would be a description of a disastrous hurricane or earthquake. Newscasts which contained social information did have an

effect on subsequent behaviour of the subjects. It was the specifically human component of the broadcast information in this (and presumably the previous study) that was affecting perceptions of and interactions with, a total stranger. Hornstein and his colleagues also found a direct relationship between social outlook and behaviour. The former was also sensitive to the incoming social information. This study shows then that information from a news broadcast can affect an individual's subsequent behaviour as well as his perception of other people.

Veitch and Griffit (1976) employed a similar strategy, this time to measure emotions. Once again the subjects were exposed to one or the other type of newscast while "waiting" for the experimenter to arrive. Afterwards they were given an affect scale on which they could indicate their immediate emotions. They also rated a total stranger on a number of personality dimensions. The kind of broadcast significantly affected the subjects' responses to both scales. People who had listened to the "good" news broadcast felt happier (and also indicated that they would be more willing to work with the unidentified stranger) than the subjects who had received the "bad" news.

This study was also interesting because the newscasts did not contain items that dealt with individuals or even human events, but rather with general events such as food-price increases and medical research grants. Even so they still changed the listener's perception of another person who was a complete stranger. These two researchers conclude that "it has been shown that stimulus conditions as ubiquitous and as seemingly benign as radio news broadcasts can produce profound effects on the ways we perceive and evaluate others".

There does seem to be then a substantial collection of studies that confirm the intuitive hypothesis that the mass media have a significant effect on the way we perceive and respond to the world around us. Although the various forms of mass communication may work in different ways and with radically different results, they all contribute to the images we hold of other people and subsequently to the ways we use to govern our interactions with others. These studies have demonstrated the important role the media play in everyone's lives. Returning to Schramm's statement with which this review began we can begin to speak about media effects less tentatively than when he wrote that passage some years ago. The question has become not so much whether there are effects but more accurately how strong they are. The vast majority of the population appear to employ the media to a large degree in forming their perceptions not just of remote events but also of others very close to home. With regard to the issue of safety in the streets people rely on the news media and the impression derived from television programmes more than on personal experience, government statistics or specialized publications. One extravagant story on a particularly vicious murder will probably affect more people's perceptions of homicide than any government report on the matter. Such is the power of the media.

If the professionals are divided, or at least not united, on the issue of media effects, the public seem to be more unanimous. In a Harris opinion poll reported in the July 10, 1967 issue of Newsweek, a cross-section of the American population was asked whether watching television had made them more in favour of recalling troops

from Vietnam. Newscasts throughout the war years, and even more so in the mid-sixties, contained a great deal of gruesome coverage of the war. Seventy-three percent of the respondents said television had changed their opinion in favour of withdrawal. Only 11% said that television had not altered their attitude towards the South-East Asia conflict. In a Gallup Poll published in the Toronto Star dated December 22nd, 1976, 67% of the respondents believed that there was a growing tendency of the newspapers to sensationalize news. Such views however do not seem to be correlated with newspaper buying or T.V. watchers' behaviour.

Thus, although the effects may differ from time to time and from situation to situation, all the foregoing studies suggest that the media alter a person's social perceptions as it pertains to violence and conflict. Furthermore, there is evidence that the people are aware of this general effect and resent it.

Study I: Pre-test survey

The purpose of this initial study was to try to get some preliminary data on the various kinds of things that people in Toronto are afraid of. In addition, we were interested in looking at the relationship between their fears and their exposure to the media. In the survey, we did not even attempt to get what might be characterized as a random or representative sample of people living in Toronto (or Ontario, for that matter). Thus, when looking at the data, one should keep in mind that these data cannot be interpreted as one would interpret a survey using a proper sample.

However, notwithstanding that problem, one can quite reasonably look at the relationship between questions that are asked on this questionnaire. Thus, one might want to see whether those in the sample who listened most to the radio were more (or less) afraid of certain kinds of dangers. Although a truly random sample might differ from the sample used here in the manner in which they answered questions (eg. they might be more or less afraid of some part of the city) it seems unlikely to us that the relationship between two variables would differ very much were the sample changed rather dramatically.

In any case, this survey is a pilot study; yet it does present some interesting questions which are followed up in later studies.

Method

A twenty-three item questionnaire was drawn up (see Appendix 1). Generally speaking, the questions dealt with people's conception of how safe it was to engage in various activities. The questions varied somewhat in format -- some of them required subjects to answer simply "Yes" or "No"; others required subjects to answer questions on a four or five point scale; others required the subjects to give their own answer (i.e., no alternatives were provided).

Subjects were approached in a number of public locations: 22 were contacted at Nathan Phillips Square, 35 from the Queen's Park area, 20 from around the University of Toronto, and 23 from the intersection at Bathurst and St. Clair. In this way it was hoped to be able to gather a speedy but crude indication of some of the public's opinions on the matters of question. Subjects were asked to answer the questions verbally, or, if they preferred, to fill out the questionnaire themselves. It should be noted that approximately half of those people who were approached refused to participate. Although this might be considered to be a problem if we were claiming to have a representative sample of people, it was not too important for our purposes. In any case, the final sample of people consisted of a rather heterogeneous group of 100 residents of Toronto. (For what it is worth, the reason that most people gave for refusing was that they were in a hurry. The interviewer was unable to tell whether this was, indeed, the real reason. However, given the fact that all of the people who were contacted were in places other than their homes, this refusal rate is not too surprising.)

The questionnaire took about 10 minutes to complete for those who had it read to them and about 15 minutes for those who read it themselves. Most of the participants were quite interested in giving their opinions on the subject and frequently wanted to add more than was required on certain items. This was especially true for the items concerning the location of rapes and the need for more security precautions on the T.T.C. To the extent that this observation is one that can be generalized to the population at large, it would appear that crime and violence and safety precautions are matters that people

do have some deal of concern about and about which they are happy to give their opinions.

Results and discussion

The questions that were asked, and the proportion of people giving each response are listed below. The total number of respondents is 100.

- 1) Which of the following locations do you consider to be the most dangerous?

The subway (31%)
Yonge Street (15%)
A tavern (34%)
Inside a bus (0%)
At a football game (2%)
High Park (18%)

Clearly (if one assumes that the sampling in this survey was not too unrepresentative) the subway is seen as a rather dangerous place to be in. Given the fact that there has been only one murder in the subway since it opened and given the fact that the T.T.C. reports that there were very few assaults in the subway in 1975, it would appear that people's view of the subway is somewhat in conflict with reality.

- 2) How many murders were committed in Toronto last year? (This was an open ended question. The answers that people gave were categorized as follows:)

Below 40 (26%)
From 40-50 (31%)
From 51-60 (11%)
From 61-70 (2%)
Over 70 (25%)
Don't know (5%)

It is clear that a substantial number of people overestimated the number of murders that take place in Toronto in a year; however, the overestimates are not as high as one could have expected.

- 3) Do you think that someone could be attacked outside an apartment building, in full view of many people, without somebody coming to help?

Yes (90%)
No (9%)
Don't know (1%)

To the extent that this badly worded question gives us information (note that it doesn't mention the city of Toronto nor does it indicate anything about frequency) it would appear that the Kitty Genovese story (where a young woman was killed while 38 witnesses watched from their New York City apartments and did nothing) is something that people feel could happen again.

- 4) Which age group is most likely to encounter some kind of violence?

(In this question, no alternatives were given; however the responses were categorized as listed below.)

Below 20 (56%)
20-30 (29%)
31-40 (3%)
41-50 (4%)
51-60 (0%)
Over 60 (8%)

It is clear that our respondents felt (properly, we believe) that the victims of violence tend to be young. Note that 85% felt that the age group most susceptible to being a victim of violence are those under 30.

- 5) What are the chances, do you think, of you being attacked in the subway?

1 in 100 (27%)
1 in 1000 (13%)
1 in 10,000 (19%)
1 in 100,000 (15%)
1 in a million (26%)

This confirms what we suspected (from question 1, among other things) that the subway is seen as a very dangerous place in Toronto. The T.T.C. as a whole has about a million fares paid per day. Assuming that most people who ride the T.T.C. ride it in two directions each day, there would be about half a million riders per day. A reasonable portion of these T.T.C. patrons take the subway. Clearly, given the fact that there are so few assaults on the T.T.C., the estimate of one in a million is most likely to be correct. We find it rather dramatic that 40% of our respondents felt that they had a one in a thousand (or better) chance of being attacked.

6) Supposing you were involved in a fight, do you think it would be with:

- A relative (17%)
- An acquaintance (19%)
- A total stranger (59%)
- Don't know (5%)

Once again, it would appear that people's view of who gets involved in fights is discrepant from reality. Our understanding is that most fights are with people who have some knowledge of each other (i.e., a relative or an acquaintance); very few are with people who don't know each other at all.

7) In what location do most rapes occur? There were no alternatives given to the subjects. Their responses were categorized as follows:

- Parks (38%)
- Underground parking garages (10%)
- Dark alleys, unpopulated areas (24%)
- Victim's home (6%)
- Anywhere, or other locations (16%)
- Don't know (6%)

The belief of most of our respondents, clearly, is that rape is a

crime that occurs where the victim cannot get help, and, indeed, the respondents believed that rape seldom occurs in the home of the victim. Obviously, it is difficult (if not impossible) to know exactly where rapes do mostly occur, since apparently only a small proportion of rapes are actually reported. However, it does seem likely that people will overestimate the likelihood of rape occurring in a public place.

8) How dangerous do you consider hitch-hiking?

Not at all (4%)
Somewhat (34%)
Fairly (37%)
Extremely (23%)
Don't know (2%)

Hitch-hiking, it would appear, is seen by most people as being a fairly dangerous practice. This belief may be in part due to the publicity accorded to the views of North York's Mayor Lastman who during the summer had a campaign against hitch-hiking.

9) Are there areas of Toronto that you regard as more dangerous than others? As it turned out, this was a very difficult question to code in any meaningful way. The results, as best they can be presented, are as follows:

Ontario Housing areas, slums (28%)
Downtown (11%)
Subway (6%)
East end, and others (40%)
No special areas (12%)
Don't know (3%)

10) In your opinion, what kind of person is most likely to be the object of a violent assault? No alternatives were given. The coded results are as follows:

Members of a racial minority group (14%)
Drunks (11%)
Girls (21%)
The elderly and the weak (15%)
Youths, punks, and others (16%)
Don't know (23%)

- 11) Do you consider it necessary to keep your apartment or house locked at all times?

Yes (69%)

No (30%)

- 12) Of the following, which one is most likely to encounter some form of violence in their job?

Bus driver (1%)

Cab driver (53%)

Tavern waiter (41%)

Security guard (4%)

Don't know (1%)

Obviously, cab drivers are seen as being particularly vulnerable. Independent of the truth of the matter, it is possible (though we don't know for sure) that this perception is, in part, due to the publicity given recent incidents involving cab drivers.

- 13) Do you think there should be more security precautions on the T.T.C.?

Yes (72%)

No (28%)

- 14) In general, do you think women are more often the victims of violence?

Yes (70%)

No (29%)

Don't know (1%)

We suspect that men are more likely to be the victims of violence, though obviously this would depend, somewhat, on one's definition of violence. We would speculate that the reason that women are seen to be more likely to be the victim is that crimes involving women as victim (e.g., rape) are more likely to be publicized and remembered.

- 15) Are fights more likely to occur on the street or in taverns?

Street (37%)

Taverns (60%)

Don't know (3%)

- 16) Which of the following groups is most responsible for violent crimes?

Delinquent youths (52%)
Professional criminals (2%)
Motor cycle gangs (5%)
People previously convicted of murder (5%)
Psychotics (33%)
Don't know (3%)

Probably the most interesting finding is that a third of the respondents thought that psychotics were responsible for most of the violent crime. It is hard to know where they got this idea unless it is from the large amounts of publicity given to crimes involving those with a history of involvement with the psychiatric establishment.

- 17) Of all the homicide victims in Toronto last year, what percentage would you suppose were related to their killers? Alternatives were not given. However, the coded responses were as follows:

0-30% (25% of the respondents)
31-50 (27%)
51-60 (15%)
61-70 (11%)
71-100 (17%)
Don't know (5%)

- 18) Compared to 10 years ago, how safe do you feel it is to live in Toronto now?

Much safer now (1%)
Somewhat safer now (2%)
About the same (22%)
Somewhat less safe now (39%)
Much less safe now (35%)
Don't know (1%)

- 19) Are there areas near you that you consider unsafe to walk home in at night?

Yes (60%)
No (39%)
Don't know (1%)

For a city with a reputation for being reasonably safe, this seemed to us to be a high proportion of "yes" answers. The question is, therefore, included (in slightly altered form) in the formal survey (see below).

20) Do you read a newspaper regularly?

Yes (85%)

No (15%)

21) Do you watch the local news on TV?

Every day (24%)

Occasionally (16%)

Frequently (38%)

Almost never (22%)

22) Name the TV shows you are most likely to watch in a typical week?

The question, in this form, turned out to be just about impossible to code. For that reason, we went through extensive pretesting for the formal survey.

23) How often do you listen to the news on the radio?

Every day (46%)

Frequently (26%)

Occasionally (19%)

Never (8%)

General conclusions from this survey

It seems to us that there are a number of things that can tentatively be concluded from these frequencies. In the first place, location of crimes (especially the subway) seems to be a question that is worth looking at in more detail. Secondly, it does seem that these respondents had a generally high level of fear of crime. They tended to keep their door locked; they reported avoiding certain areas at night; they felt that hitch-hiking was a dangerous thing to do; they felt that women were vulnerable to attack. Furthermore, they felt

that one couldn't necessarily rely on one's neighbours for help.

Finally, strangers more than acquaintances were the perceived object of fear.

In addition to these tabulations of the data, a number of cross-tabulations of the data were performed. Treating questions 21 (do you watch the local news on TV), 20 (do you read a newspaper regularly) and 23 (how often do you listen to the news on the radio) as independent variables, each of these three variables was cross-tabulated with each of the following 10 questions:

- 2) How many murders were committed in Toronto last year?
- 5) What are the chances, do you think, of you being attacked in the subway?
- 6) Supposing you were involved in a fight, do you think it would be with a relative, an acquaintance, or a total stranger?
- 7) In what location do most rapes occur?
- 11) Do you consider it necessary to keep your apartment or house locked at all times?
- 13) Do you believe there should be more security precautions on the T.T.C.?
- 16) Which of the following groups are most responsible for violent crimes?
- 17) Of all the homicides in Toronto last year, what percentage were related to their killers?
- 18) Compared to 10 years ago, how safe do you feel it is to live in Toronto now?
- 19) Are there areas near you that you consider unsafe to walk home in at night?

Of the thirty cross-tabulations that resulted from these analyses, only one was significant. Although it is presented below, it should be remembered that one would expect at least one to be significant completely by chance. Thus, unless this effect is replicated, it should not be accepted with too much confidence.

		Question 5) Chances of a subway assault:	
		1/10,000 or more	1/100,000 or 1/million
Do you watch local TV news?	Every day or frequently	42	20
	Occasionally or never	17	21

Chi square: 5.16, $\underline{p} < .05$

If this single finding is to be accepted (and it is likely that it is chance alone that is causing the effect), then it would appear that those who watch TV news are more likely to see themselves as possible victims of assault on the subway.

The sex of the respondent (56 males and 44 females) was cross-tabulated with questions 5, 7, and 13. None of these relationships were significant.

Study II: The effects of variations in Stranger/acquaintance
and location: Print

The purpose of this study was to try to manipulate the details of two different stories involving crime to see if various factors in the stories affected people's views of the general phenomena that they were dealing with. Thus, for example, in one set of stories, a rape was described and the location of the rape was either specified or not; in addition the relationship of the victim to the assailant was varied. In the other set of stories, an assault was described as being carried out by a stranger or a person known to the victim. Similarly, details of the assault were given as including the actual location, or these details were excluded.

The complete design of the experiment included eight experimental conditions. Each respondent (in all of the conditions) was asked to answer the same questionnaire. (The actual materials are included as Appendix 2.) Because it is clearer to present only the data relevant to the study, we have split up the study into its two major components corresponding to the two sets of stories. The complete list of experimental conditions (i.e., critical stories) is as follows:

- a) A rape was described as having taken place in a park. The assailant was apparently a complete stranger to the victim. The story included a statement from the police telling the reader that rapes rarely occur between complete strangers and do not normally occur in public places.
- b) In this condition, the rape took place in the victim's apartment and the assailant was known to the victim.
- c) In this condition, the rape took place in a park, but the assailant was known to the victim.
- d) The same as in condition "a" except the police statement was omitted.

- e) An assault (leading to death) was described as having been carried out by a stranger. Details of the location (Broadview and Gerard area) were given.
- f) The same assault was described as having been carried out by a relative of the victim. Location details were not given.
- g) The same assault was described as having been carried out by a stranger. Location details were not given.
- h) A control condition, where none of the above stories were given. Only "filler" (nonviolent) stories were included.

All of the stories were typed in newspaper style brief paragraphs for presentation to the subjects. None of the subjects seemed to doubt that they were real stories from newspapers, though they assumed, we would imagine, that they might have been edited.

Subjects were 160 volunteers from various public places around Toronto (e.g., the Toronto-Dominion Centre, Nathan Phillips Square, parks, etc.). They were asked to read a set of stories (five for half of the subjects in each condition, three for the other half). One of the stories was the key experimental story (except in the control group). The reason that the number varied was that the first 80 subjects seemed to feel that we were imposing too much on them in asking them to read so many stories.

The result of the study on rape are as follows:

Condition:	Rape victim likely to be stranger to assailant (High=stranger)	Where rape occurs High=public place
a) Rape in park by stranger Police statement	2.60	3.05
b) Rape in apartment rapist known	2.40	2.60
c) Rape in park rapist known	2.75	3.00
d) Rape in park by stranger (no statement)	2.95	3.35
h) Control	2.40	2.85

It appears from these data that we were not successful in changing people's opinions about either the nature of rape or of the location in which it takes place. There are no significant differences on either question.

The results of the other study are more difficult to analyze because our location question (unfortunately) dealt with the dangerousness of a particular location (Broadview and Gerrard) and a substantial number of people did not feel that they could answer a question dealing with that location. We have, however, listed the results for this question and included in parentheses the number of people who answered this question (of the 20 in each condition).

Condition:	How dangerous do you think the area of Broadview and Gerard is? (High=safe)	% feeling victims of serious assaults more likely to be total strangers
e) Mugging by stranger; location given	3.0 (14)	50%
f) Mugging by relatives; no location given	3.0 (15)	70%
g) Mugging by stranger; no location	2.88 (16)	55%
h) Control	3.4 (15)	60%

Once again, it would appear that we were not successful in changing people's views about either the dangerousness of a particular area in Toronto or in dealing with the general question of the nature of the victim-assailant relationship. None of the differences were statistically significant.

Study III: The effects of variations in the location of a
crime and the relationship of victim to assailant
with group discussion: Print

The purpose of this study was to try to see if the effects that were looked at in the previous study would be affected by a group discussion after people had been exposed to the written material involving violence.

Subjects for this experiment were gathered from the public attending the Ontario Science Centre. Volunteers came in response to a blackboard requesting subjects for a psychology experiment run in conjunction with the University of Toronto. They were given a booklet of newspaper stories to read and then were asked to discuss the stories among themselves in groups of four. After exchanging opinions and ideas they submitted specific recommendations designed to prevent the incidents from recurring. These recommendations were recorded by the experimenter who was present during, but did not participate directly in, the discussion. At the conclusion of the recommendations the subjects filled out the questionnaire which contained items pertaining to violence in the city. When the subjects had completed this they were given a brief description of the purpose of the study.

There were 4 conditions to which the groups were randomly assigned. In the first there were two filler stories plus one describing an apartment rape by someone known to the victim; the second contained a story about a park rape by a similar assailant and in the third a park rape occurred in which the rapist was a total stranger. In addition there was a control condition which received only the two filler stories. (See Appendix 3.)

The entire procedure took between 15 and 20 minutes of which from 6 to 11 minutes was spent discussing the stories. Five groups of 4 subjects were run for each condition, with the exception of one group

in condition 3 and four groups of the condition 1 which contained five members. Usually the volunteers came in groups; when they did arrive singly or in pairs they were requested to wait for others until the group was complete. The groups were naturally run separately. A total of 85 individuals participated in this experiment.

There were three questions which were relevant to these experimental conditions, and the data for the four conditions for each of the questions is listed below. It should be noted that because the groups interacted and because it was groups of subjects that were randomly assigned to experimental conditions rather than individuals, the group for each question was used as the unit of statistical analyses.

	What % of rape victims are total strangers to their assailants	Where rape takes place: 1=home 5=public place	Victims of assaults are
	1=0-20% 5=80-100%		1=known 5=strangers to assailants
Conditions:			
1) Rape in apartment Not a stranger	3.26	2.46	2.94
2) Rape in park Not a stranger	3.18	3.30	3.05
3) Rape in park By stranger	3.14	2.85	2.12
4) Control stories only	2.75	3.15	2.40

Clearly, there is an apparently paradoxical effect on the first and third questions. However, none of the effects on these questions approached statistical significance.

On the second question, the results seemed to be more orderly and in addition, the difference between the first and second conditions approached significance in this case ($F(1,16) = 3.64$; $p < .10$).^{*} Thus it would appear that there was a trend toward seeing public places as a more frequent location of rape after having read about one taking place in a park (as compared to the same story except where the location was described as being the victim's apartment).

^{*} The F score is a standard measure of statistical significance.

The P value indicates the likelihood the observed differences among conditions occurred merely by chance.

Study IV: The effects of variations in the location
of a crime and the relationship of victim
to assailant with group discussion: Print
(replication of Study III)

Because of the suggestive effects of the previous experiment, this experiment was replicated. The only difference was that there were four groups of subjects in each condition, and each group contained four subjects. Hence, a total of 64 individuals were run. The data are listed below:

	% of rape victims total strangers to assailants 1=0-20% 5=80-100%	Where rape takes place: 1=home 5=public place	Victims of assaults are 1=known 5=strangers to their assailants
	(Question 1)	(Question 2)	(Question 3)
Conditions:			
1) Rape in apartment Not a stranger	3.75	3.13	1.70
2) Rape in park Not a stranger	3.00	3.20	1.40
3) Rape in park By stranger	2.70	2.95	1.53
4) Control stories only	3.20	2.70	1.55

It is clear that the pattern from the previous experiment was not replicated. It will be recalled that there was (in Experiment III) a rather large difference between the first two conditions on the "location" question. In this experiment, the "location" question did not appear to be at all sensitive to the manipulation.

For ease of understanding, the combined results of this and the previous study are presented in the table below.

Conditions:	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3
1)	3.48	2.76	2.39
2)	3.10	3.26	2.32
3)	2.94	2.89	1.86
4)	2.95	2.95	2.02

It would appear, therefore, when the combined data from all nine groups in each of the four experimental conditions are looked at, that the manipulations did not have much of an effect: The largest difference between any two experimental conditions on any of the three questions is only about half of a scale point (on a five point scale). Group discussions, at least as we operationalized them, did not appear to strengthen our results.

Study V: The effect of variation in the relationship
of victim to assailant: Newsprint

The major purpose of this study was to attempt to manipulate the "stranger-known" assailant variable using a more typical kind of crime. Hence, in this experiment, an assault was described (the headline was "Metro Man Victim of Senseless Attack" in the "stranger" condition) as it was thought that this kind of crime might be more likely to be affected by manipulations of the kind we have been doing. There were four conditions:

- a) A beating was described as having been done by strangers in a park.
- b) The same event (by strangers) was described as having taken place in the driveway of the victim.
- c) The beating was done by some nephews of the victim in his driveway.
- d) Control: Subjects didn't read the "critical" story. They read some control stories and answered the same questions as the experimental subjects. (See Appendix 5 for the materials used in this experiment.)

The subjects were all visitors to the Ontario Science Centre who volunteered to participate in the experiment which took about 10 minutes of their time. They were randomly assigned to experimental condition such that there were 21 subjects in the first two conditions and 20 in each of the other two conditions. There were three critical questions dealing with the variable under study. The first of these questions was directly related to the focus of the study. The second dealt with the subjects' perception to their own relative vulnerability to attack from strangers or acquaintances. The third dealt with the subjects' estimates of the proportion of murders committed by relatives or acquaintances of the victim.

Condition:	% of assault victims who are strangers to assailants 1=0-20% 5=80-100%	Subject more likely harmed by known person or complete stranger 1=more likely stranger 5=more likely acquaint.	% murderers related to their victims 1=0-20% 5=81-100%
a) Beating by strangers in park	2.95	2.61	2.76
b) Beating by strangers in driveway	2.71	2.80	3.14
c) Beating by relatives in driveway	2.25	3.15	3.00
d) Control	1.85	2.65	3.30

It is clear that the first question noted above showed dramatic effects of the experimental manipulations. Indeed, there was a significant effect of the manipulations ($F(3, 78) = 3.57$; $p < .05$). The two conditions involving beatings by strangers created beliefs in the readers of these stories that assaults are more likely to be carried out by strangers.

The other two questions did not show significant differences, perhaps because they were less directly related to the actual manipulations.

Study VI: The effect of variations in location of
a crime: Newsprint

In this experiment, location of an assault was varied. One group had a newsprint story which described an assault that took place in the victim's driveway: The second group read the identical story except the assault was described as having taken place in a park. The third group did not read of an assault. All three groups also read a control story (dealing with a subway fire). Subjects were then asked to answer a nine item questionnaire, three questions of which dealt directly with the question of the location of crimes. (Materials can be found in Appendix 6.)

The results for the three critical questions are listed below.

	Should parks be closed at night to reduce crime? 1=yes 5=no	Where do assaults take place 1=parks 5=home	How dangerous are Toronto's parks? 1=dangerous 5=safe
Conditions:			
a) Beating in driveway	3.47	3.24	3.43
b) Beating in park	3.47	2.85	2.85
c) Control	3.19	2.95	2.95

First of all, it is clear that the first of these questions was not affected by the manipulation. This is not too surprising since it assumed two things: That the stories affected the perception of the likelihood of crime in parks and that closing the parks would be a good way of dealing with the kind of crime described in the newspaper story.

The second and third questions dealt more directly with the actual manipulations in the experiment. It is clear that there is a

trend toward assuming that parks are a more dangerous place after reading about a beating that took place in a park. Because these two questions deal with the same factor, they were combined into a single index and a one way (three condition) analysis of variance was performed on the data. Although the overall analysis was not significant ($F(2, 60) = 1.76$) the difference between the two experimental conditions ("a" and "b" above) approached significance ($F(1, 60) = 3.16$, $p < .10$).

Study VII: The effect of authoritative information concerning
victim-assailant relationship: Newsprint

In this experiment, an attempt was made to simulate the putting of a particular crime into a meaningful context. Many reports of crimes are simply just that: A statement of an event. Since it is clear that only a small proportion of crime is given much prominence in the media, it is important to know how the events that are reported compare to the full range of crime. If only the unusual crimes get reported, it is not surprising that people might get a distorted view of what is going on.

In the newspaper stories that our subjects read in this experiment, then, there was (in the two experimental conditions) a report of an unsolved murder. In one case, there was simply a statement of the fact that the murder took place and that the police were still investigating. In the second case, there was a statement which pointed out that stranger-to-stranger murders were uncommon in Toronto and elsewhere. These two stories were, in fact, slight variations on two stories that appeared (separately) in the newspapers in Toronto. (Materials are contained in Appendix 7.)

There were three questions that dealt directly with the theme of the stories:

- i) What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants? 1=0-20% 5=80-100%
- ii) Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger? 1=stranger 5=previously known person
- iii) Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose were known, related, or married to their killers? 1=0-20% 5=81-100%

Sixty-three subjects (21 per condition) participated in the experiment.

	% assault victims who are strangers 1=0-20% 5=80-100% (Question i)	Harmed personally by stranger or acquaintance 1=stranger 5=acquaintance (Question ii)	Proportion of murderers related to their victims 1=0-20% 5=81-100% (Question iii)
Conditions:			
a) Unsolved murder	2.48	2.00	3.19
b) Unsolved murder with police explanation	1.57	3.33	3.33
c) Control	3.05	2.10	3.29

Questions i, and ii both showed significant differences:
 $(F(2, 60) = 6.88$ for Question i, and $F(2, 60) = 5.93$ for Question ii;
 $p < .01$ in both cases): Where the police officer gave information
about the "typical" murder, people were dramatically affected by the
information. Given that crime is one of the most "popular" things to
read in a newspaper, this would suggest that if a newspaper were
interested in educating the public on the nature of crime, it would be
a fairly straightforward task to do so, and would not involve any
massive changes in editorial policy.

Because this experiment was run at the same time as the previous
one, we were able to use the same control group for the two studies.

Study VIII: The effect of variation in the relationship
of victim to assailant: Radio News

This study dealt with radio broadcasts as stimuli. There were two experimental conditions -- an assault by a stranger and an assault by someone known to the victim -- and a control group. The design and stories used were similar to the studies using printed material (Study V) except, of course, the subjects listened to a professionally written and read (simulated) news broadcast which was tape recorded and played to them on a cassette recorder through ear phones. They then filled out a questionnaire that had three questions relevant to whether serious assaults are likely to be carried out by acquaintances of the victim or by complete strangers. These three questions were summed to create a single index. The data are listed below. (The questionnaire is contained in Appendix 8.)

Assaults are more likely to be carried out by strangers. High numbers: crimes are by strangers

Conditions:

a) Assault by strangers	10.11
b) Assault by relatives of the victim	10.29
c) Control	8.61

There were twenty-eight subjects in each of the three conditions (total = 84). The overall analysis of variance was significant ($F(2, 81) = 4.62$; $p < .01$). It is clear that both stories made people more likely to believe that crimes are more likely to be carried out by strangers than they were if they heard nothing about the existence of an assault (control condition). It is not clear to us why this is the case.

Study IX: The effect of authoritative information concerning
victim assailant relationship: Radio

This study also dealt with the effects of radio broadcasts, but this time dealt with the effect of putting a crime in the context of other crimes. The materials, then, described, in the middle of a broadcast, a murder that had taken place apparently without motive, committed, presumably by strangers to the victim. In one condition, this was followed by a section on the actual incidence of such homicides; in the other experimental condition, the event was not put into this context. In addition, there was a control group (actually the same people as in the previous experiment, since they were run at the same time) who heard a simulated radio newsbroadcast but heard nothing on it about a murder. The subjects listened to the professionally produced simulated newsbroadcast (using the same story line as Study 7) over earphones (connected to cassette tape players) and then answered questions concerning the likely incidence of stranger-to-stranger crimes. The results are listed below. The basic data are a combination of the answers to three questions.

Assaults are more likely to
be carried out by strangers.
High numbers: crimes are by
strangers

Conditions:

a) Murder without context	9.27
b) Murder with explanation of its being unusual	5.90
c) Control	8.61

There were 30 subjects in each of the experimental groups and 28 in the control condition (total = 88). Once again, there are dramatic

effects of the "context" information: Whereas the straight description of the murder (by strangers) tended to make people slightly more likely to feel that murders were typically committed by strangers than the control condition, there was a dramatic drop with the addition of the authoritative information.

Study X: The effect of authoritative information concerning
victim-assailant relationship: Television

This experiment was essentially a replication of Study IX except that professionally produced television newscasts were used as the stimulus materials. As in the previous study, there were three conditions:

- a) In one condition, the critical story described a beating death (in Toronto) taking place, apparently, as a result of a fight between two previously unacquainted people.
- b) In this condition, the same story as (a) was used, except that there was, in addition, a statement attributed to a police officer indicating the fact that such stranger-to-stranger crimes are relatively rare.
- c) In the control condition, people watched a news broadcast that was identical to the ones used in the first two conditions except that the critical story was omitted.

The stimulus materials for the experiment were produced by CITY-TV with the use of their regular newscaster. From our perspective, all of the broadcasts looked exactly like CITY's normal newscasts. None of the subjects in the experiment expressed any doubt about the authenticity of any of the stories.

Subjects in the experiment were volunteers from the visitors to the Ontario Science Centre. Subjects were run in groups of from two to eight persons and were asked to watch the news broadcast which lasted about five minutes. Those participating were asked not to communicate with other members of the group either during or after the broadcast. When they had finished watching the broadcast, they were given a seven item questionnaire (see Appendix 10) with three critical questions on it. At the end of the experiment, as with all

of the experiments run on this project, all of the subjects were given a full explanation of the purpose and design of the experiment. Thirty subjects were run in each of the three conditions. The three critical questions ("What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants"; "Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger" and "Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose were known, related, or married to their killers") were combined to form one index where high numbers mean strangers are more likely to do murders. The results for the three conditions are listed below.

Story only:	3.17
Story with statement about rarity of this kind of crime:	.33
Control:	2.0

The overall analysis of variance was highly significant ($F(2, 87) = 15.44, p < .01$). Clearly most of the between group variance is taken up by the contrast between the control and the second condition ($F(1, 87) = 13.24, p < .01$). The contrast between the control and the first condition was not significant ($F(1, 87) = 3.31, p < .10$).

Because subjects were assigned to condition in groups, it could be argued that the mean of each group should be used as the replicate in the analysis of variance. Therefore, these data were analyzed in that way. The overall analysis was almost identical ($F(2, 18) = 12.46, p < .01$) and the results of the two contrasts were also very similar.

As with the previous experiment, there was a slight (but non-significant) tendency for people to assume, after reading about a murder, that all murders are more likely to be done by strangers. When given the authoritative information, clearly people are dramatically affected by the information.

Study XI: Television viewing and the perception of frequency
of violence: A survey

Gerbner, along with various associates, has completed a number of studies which demonstrate convincingly that persons who view a lot of television tend to over-estimate the incidence of violent crimes. Gerbner has attributed these misperceptions to the fact that television programs, in general, contain a lot of violence and that viewing violent programs causes people to overestimate the incidence of physical violence around them. Gerbner's conclusions may be valid but for them to be so requires the granting of two assumptions. The first of these, is that high T.V. viewing necessarily results in high violent T.V. viewing. The second of these, is that the amount of T.V. viewing or of violent T.V. viewing is unrelated to the actual incidence of violence in the viewer's immediate environment. The first of the assumptions is not too difficult to grant. The second, however, is far more questionable. There is no doubt that violence tends to be high in low socio-economic neighbourhoods and it is equally true that there are culturally based T.V. viewing habits.

The present study was undertaken, therefore, to test the foregoing assumptions. If they are upheld then more evidence can be given to Gerbner's conclusions. If not, then it might be safely assumed that viewing habits and the perception of the incidence of violence do not exist as a simple causal relationship. Rather, there are some further complications which might involve the realities of violence in the viewer's immediate environment and values of the sub-culture to which the viewer belongs.

In general, the study consisted of determining areas of the Toronto Metropolitan region which had a high incidence of crime involving woundings and assaults and areas which had low incidence of

such offenses. The total television viewing habits of samples of residents of the designated areas were then determined together with their views on the incidence and seriousness of crime in their environment.

Method

Statistics on the number of woundings and assaults in various areas of Metropolitan Toronto were obtained from the Metropolitan Toronto Police. Since these figures were available only for police patrol areas, the geographic unit for the purposes of the study was a police patrol area. These in turn vary in size according to the amount of work a patrol car might be expected to have and are not perfectly related to population. On the basis of considerations such as these and the actual number of woundings and assaults reported by the police, four areas, approximately equal in geographic size, were selected for study. Two of these were in the city proper: One, designated Low Crime City, had reports of no assaults or woundings in a seven month period. Another, designated High Crime City, had reports of approximately 30 assaults and woundings per patrol area in the same seven month period. Two other suburban areas were also investigated: One of those, designated High Crime Suburbs reported 30 woundings and assaults, in seven months, the other, designated Low Crime Suburbs had reports of no such crimes in the same period.

Following the selection of these four areas, samples of individuals were selected for study. First, a random selection of households was determined by Creative Research Inc. using Statistics Canada blocks. Subsequently interviewers selected adult individuals within those households for interview by means of a table of random numbers.

The interview consisted first of the respondent indicating on a T.V. schedule the T.V. programs he or she had watched during the previous week and then completing a questionnaire consisting of 37 questions pertaining to the incidence of crime, attitudes towards crime, etc. (see Appendix 11).

For purposes of analysis, prior to tabulating the results, a research associate designated each T.V. program in schedule as being one of the following: News, violent entertainment, non-violent entertainment, or sports.

Results

A total of 408 people were interviewed. The T.V. viewing responses were tabulated for each area and the mean number of programs viewed during one week are shown in Table 1. As can be seen from the table, there are clear differences between the areas in terms of the total number of programs viewed, the number of programs viewed which involve violence, and number of newscasts viewed. These differences were tested using one way analyses of variance. For total T.V. watched, $F = 11.6$, $df\ 3/404$, $p < .001$. For T.V. Violence, $F = 17.6$, $df\ 3/404$, $p < .001$. For T.V. News $F = .95$, $df\ 3/404$, $p > .10$. Thus, both Total T.V. and T.V. violence viewing show significant variation among the four areas. An examination of the data clearly indicates that amount of T.V. and Violent T.V. watching are positively related to the actual incidence of crimes against persons: People in high crime areas watch more television (and also, as a result watch more T.V. violence).

Insert Table 1 about here

TABLE 1

Mean number of programs watched by Groups and by Categories

	High crime		Low crime	
	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs
Total T.V.	36.25	31.71	18.89	25.03
T.V. Violence	6.97	3.73	2.11	3.33
T.V. News	3.07	3.07	3.72	3.74

Numbers refer to the average number
of programs of each type watched by
respondents in each neighbourhood.

The questionnaire responses were examined as individual questions and also in terms of group questions which were grouped on the basis of their apparent commonality of content. The groups were designated as indices 1 through 9 and were made up of questions as follows:

Index 1 = Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q6, Q7. (Chances of being involved in crime in neighbourhood.)

Index 2 = Q5, Q26, Q27. (Perceived danger in subway.)

Index 3 = Q8, Q9. (Fear of being out at night.)

Index 4 = Q11, Q12. (Danger in hitch-hiking.)

Index 5 = Q13, Q14, Q15. (Police powers sufficient.)

Index 6 = Q18, Q19. (Keep home locked.)

Index 7 = Q17, Q20. (Arm oneself.)

Index 8 = Q23, Q24. (Racial crimes.)

Index 9 = Q30, Q31, Q32, Q33, Q34. (Willingness of people to help when needed.)

Not surprisingly, the four samples also varied in their overall perception of these crime related questions. We have listed in Table 2 the significant differences that existed on the various indices described above. Obviously, there were a large number of other individual questions that showed significant effects; we have not reported them simply to save space.

Insert Table 2 about here

TABLE 2

	High crime		Low crime	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
Index 1: Perceived chance of being involved in crime in one's neighborhood (High = safe)	19.4	20.6 Overall $\underline{F}(3, 404) = 16.84, \underline{p} < .01$ High vs. low crime areas: $\underline{t} = 6.20, \underline{p} < .01$	25.9 $\underline{p} < .01$	23.6
Index 2: Perceived danger of subways (High = subway safe)	-3.5	-2.5 Overall $\underline{F}(3, 404) = 3.18, \underline{p} < .05$ High vs. low crime areas: $\underline{t} = 2.19$	-1.9 $\underline{p} < .05$	-2.3
Index 4: Danger in hitchhiking (High = safe)	4.29	3.20 Overall $\underline{F}(3, 404) = 6.09, \underline{p} < .01$ High vs. low crime areas: $\underline{t} = 2.09$	3.42 $\underline{p} < .01$	3.12
Index 7: Should people arm themselves (High = people should <u>not</u> arm themselves)	6.39	7.48 Overall $\underline{F}(3, 404) = 12.03, \underline{p} < .01$ High vs. low crime areas: $\underline{t} = 3.71$	8.25 $\underline{p} < .01$	7.41

The other indices did not show significant variation among the four neighbourhoods that were sampled. From these indices, however, there are a few very notable findings. First of all, not surprisingly, people who live in high crime areas of the city are more likely to view their neighbourhood as dangerous than are people in lower crime areas (Index 1). Interestingly enough, one finds this same pattern of results on the questions dealing with the subway: People who live in high crime areas see the subway as more dangerous than do people in low crime areas (Index 2). Surprisingly (Index 4) people in high crime areas see hitch-hiking as safer than do people in low crime areas. Finally, people in the downtown high crime area are most likely and people in the city low crime area least likely to feel that people should arm themselves (Index 7).

Aside from the intrinsic interest of these findings, they are important because they begin to suggest that the Gerbner findings (people who watch a lot of T.V. are more likely to see the world as violent) may be an artifact of the fact that people who watch a lot of T.V. live in violent parts of the city. At this point, then, we have established that people in high crime areas watch a lot of T.V. and view their world as violent.

The next logical step is to look at the data in a manner analogous to the Gerbner approach (ignoring the variable of neighbourhood). In Table 3, then, we have reported the correlations between the indices described above and the various measures of media usage. In this first table, we have contained the data from all subjects in all of the four areas of the city that were sampled.

Insert Table 3 about here

TABLE 3

	Index 1 ³ Neigh- bourhood violence	Index 2 ³ Subway danger	Index 3 ³ Fear alone at night	Index 4 ³ Danger hitch- hiking	Index 5 ⁴ Police powers	Index 6 ⁵ Home kept locked	Index 7 ⁶ Arm oneself	Index 8 ⁷ Racial crimes	Index 9 ⁸ Help people if needed
Total TV ¹	-.12 [*]	-.08	-.10 [*]	-.07	-.03	-.02	-.30 [*]	-.03	+.03
TV violence ¹	-.18 [*]	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.07	-.05	-.25 [*]	-.01	-.02
TV news ¹	+.07	-.06	-.05	-.12 [*]	0	0	-.02	-.06	+.08
Radio news	-.06	-.04	-.09 [*]	+.12 [*]	0	+.06	-.03	+.01	+.04
Newspaper reading	-.07	-.10 [*]	-.01	+.05	+.02	-.03	-.06	-.03	+.07

Notes:

- 1 = Number of programmes
- 2 = High numbers = less exposure
- 3 = High = safe
- 4 = High = powers sufficient (safe)
- 5 = High = don't lock (safe)
- 6 = High = don't arm (safe)
- 7 = High = crimes involve race
- 8 = High = people won't help

* $p < .05$

At first glance, these data would appear to support the Gerbner hypothesis: When one looks at Index 1, for example, it would appear that those who watch a lot of T.V. (or a lot of violence on T.V.) tend to feel less safe in their neighbourhoods. Similarly, the more T.V. a person watches, the more afraid s/he is of being alone on the street at night (Index 3). Similarly, it is the watchers of T.V. (or T.V. violence) who feel the people should be armed (Index 7).

This pattern of results becomes less clear, however, when one looks at the correlations for the high and low crime areas separately (see Table 4). Where originally there were significant correlations for Indices 1, 3, and 7 (with total T.V. viewing), when one separates the high from the low crime area respondents, the correlations drop to approximately zero for Index 1 (perceptions of violence in the neighbourhood). This indicates that what we suspected from the examination of differences among the areas turned out to be true: High crime area people see their neighbourhoods as more dangerous (which they are) and also watch more T.V. (and T.V. violence); however, within areas, there is no relationship. It would appear, therefore, that the original overall relationship is probably an artifact of these two critical differences between the high and low crime areas.

Insert Table 4 about here

Although not significant (because of the lower number of observations in each of the separate correlations), the relationship of total T.V. and fearing venturing out at night (Index 3) is the same for the two sets of areas taken separately.

TABLE 4

	Index 1	Index 2	Index 3	Index 4	Index 5	Index 6	Index 7	Index 8	Index 9
Total TV	-.05 -.03	-.08 0	-.10 -.10	-.16* -.01	0 -.10	-.01 +.01	-.26* -.24*	+.02 -.07	-.03 .11
TV violence	-.15* -.05	-.03 0	-.03 0	-.12* +.05	-.05 -.16*	-.02 -.05	-.21* -.23*	0 0	-.09 +.07
TV news	+.06 +.02	+.02 +.09	-.02 -.09	-.18* -.03	+.04 -.05	0 -.02	-.02 -.06	0 -.12*	+.02 +.18*
Radio news	-.02 -.01	-.05 0	+.14* +.02	+.13* +.06	-.03 +.04	0 +.16*	0 +.01	.04 0	+.10 -.08
Newspaper reading	-.07 +.02	-.14* -.02	-.04 +.03	+.03 +.04	-.03 +.06	-.15* +.11	+.06 -.17*	.07 -.13*	+.11 0

Top numbers = correlation from the high crime areas (pooled)

Lower numbers = correlation from the low crime areas (pooled)

*Statistically significant, $P < .05$

Similarly, there still exist correlations between the amount of T.V. viewing (or T.V. violence viewing) and people's attitudes about arming themselves (Index 7).

Clearly the next step is to look at the four areas individually. Because our interest has now focused exclusively on three indices (1, 3, and 7), the data are presented only for these three indices. (See Table 5.)

Insert Table 5 about here

Looking at the data divided up by individual areas, then, there are still no consistent relationships between T.V. viewing and Index 1 (the perception of possible involvement as the victim of crime). Thus, although there is a good deal of variability in T.V. viewing within neighbourhoods as well as a good deal of variability on the index of the perception of the likelihood of being victimized (index 1), T.V. viewing does not seem to predict people's perception of the likelihood of being victimized.

For the city people, however, there (still) does seem to be a relationship between total T.V. viewing and willingness to venture out at night alone (Index 3): Those who watch a lot of T.V. (and who live in the city) do not feel safe going out alone at night. The fact that this does not hold for people who live in the suburbs (either in high or low crime areas) should be noted, however.

Furthermore, for Total T.V. viewing, there is still a fairly consistent relationship with Index 7 (belief that people should arm themselves) across all areas: Those people within each area who watch a lot of television are the same people who believe that people should arm themselves (Questions 17 and 20 from the questionnaire).

TABLE 5

	Index 1		Index 3		Index 7	
Total TV	-.04	-.08	-.17 [*]	-.17 [*]	-.26 [*]	-.25 [*]
	-.04	+.10	-.01	+.06	-.25 [*]	-.17 [†]
TV violence	.19 [*]	-.14	-.13	-.12	-.20 [*]	-.09
	+.04	+.10	+.14	-.14	-.10	-.34 [*]

The four correlations within each cell are arranged as follows:

High crime city	Low crime city
High crime suburbs	Low crime suburbs

* = $p < .05$

† = $p = .06$

Generally, it can be seen that Gerbner's conclusions, as applied to Toronto, are somewhat overstated: Although correlations similar to Gerbner's can be found, these correlations would appear to be at least in part a function of differences in actual crime between areas. Thus, as we found in Index 1 (likelihood of being a victim), those who watched a lot of television lived in high crime areas, and also saw the world around them as more dangerous. However, this interpretation does not account for everything. As indicated on Index 7 (belief that people should arm themselves), there still seemed to be a relationship with television: Those who watched a lot of television in each of the four areas sampled tended to feel that people should arm themselves.

One final thing is worth noting: None of the correlations that are reported here accounts for much variance. In other words, although there are some consistent (and statistically significant) correlations, these correlations are not high in magnitude. Hence, to the extent that one can generalize from them, although television may be a factor to some extent in the perceptions that people have of these events, it does not account for very much of the variation that exists.

Discussion

In terms of the general purpose of this study, it must be concluded that Gerbner's interpretations of the relations between amount of television viewed and the perception of violence and incidence of violence are at least oversimplified, if not absolutely incorrect.

The present findings show that a person's perception of personal violence and the incidence of violence is more a function of the actual incidence of such violence in their immediate neighbourhood and

their own socio-economic environment than it is of their T.V. viewing habits. In fact, amount of T.V. viewing seems to be part of those very sub-cultures which are associated with different areas of a city and the attendant violent crime rates.

It is true that in this study all persons overestimate the incidence of violent crime and it is certainly most probable that such misperceptions are a result of exposure to the media at least in part. As other studies in this series have shown, to the media, violent crime is news and it is entertainment. Those uses of violence by all media may be responsible for people overestimating the frequency of violence. However, little in the present study suggests that misperceptions are a direct function of specific kinds of television viewing.

It is concluded that perceptions of violence, estimates of frequency of violence, amount of television viewing, and kind of television viewing seem to be a result of a complex mixture of cultural values, socio-economic factors, local geographic factors and the actual frequency of violence. While these all may be influenced by television and television programming, it is an oversimplification to attribute causal relationships between amount of television viewing and perceptions of violent crime.

Note: Table 6, which follows, contains the overall survey results, question by question. In interpreting this table, it should be kept in mind that these data are a reflection of the fact that we sampled four separate areas of Toronto. Thus, because we did not do a random sample of Toronto as a whole, one should not interpret these data as necessarily being an accurate reflection of all of Toronto.

Aside from the question of the relationship of TV viewing to perceptions of violence, one can also look at the overall survey results simply as a description of the perceptions that people have of violence and violence related phenomena in our culture. In looking at the results in this way, however, one must keep in mind that although we attempted to get a representative sample of adults living in four separate areas of Toronto, we did not attempt to get an overall sample that would be representative of Toronto in general. However, since we did sample four quite different areas (a high and low crime area in each of two general areas -- downtown or the suburbs), we can deal with the problem of "representativeness" by considering the amount of variability that exists across the areas that were sampled. The results in Table 6 show the overall results (pooled across all four areas). In the discussion below, we have presented some examples of the variability that exists so as to deal with the problem of representativeness of the sample across Metropolitan Toronto.

First of all, it is clear that there is a lot of variability on how serious violent crimes are seen to be. Not surprisingly, crime is seen as more serious a problem in the high crime areas. (See Table 5A)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	19%	39%
Low Crime	9%	7%

Table 5A: Percentage of respondents in each area who see crime as a serious or extremely serious problem (Alternatives a and b from Question 1)

In terms of actually quantifying what constitutes an "exaggerated

fear" of crime, there are no set standards. Obviously, what is "real" and what is exaggerated depends not only on how much crime there is in the particular neighbourhood that a person lives in, but also on such things as the exact location within that area and the particular life style of the respondent (and/ or his friends or relatives). However, when one looks at the actual results from the "probability estimate" questions (2, 3, 4, 5, and 6), it is clear that people overestimate the amount of crime that exists. We feel that it is a safe estimate to suggest that estimates of one chance in 100 or better (i.e., alternatives a, b, and c) would reasonably constitute an "exaggeration" of the likelihood of being a victim of violent crime. As indicated in the Tables below, there is clear variation across areas (with respondents in high crime areas feeling, naturally, that they have a higher likelihood of being involved in crime). However, in all four areas sampled, there are substantial proportions of people who apparently feel that they have a high likelihood of being the victim of a crime, etc.

	Suburb	City
High crime	42%	58%
Low crime	32%	26%

Table 5B: Percentage of respondents in each area who feel that they have at least a one in one hundred chance of being the victim of a violent crime if they were to walk alone at night for a month in their neighborhood (Alternatives a, b & c of Question 2)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	58%	70%
Low Crime	46%	31%

Table 5C: Percentage of respondents in each area who feel that there is at least one chance in 100 that a child playing alone in a park would be the victim of a violent crime. (Alternatives a, b, and c of Question 3)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	62%	72%
Low Crime	48%	43%

Table 5D: Percentage of respondents who feel that they have at least a 1 in 100 chance of being the victim of a serious crime if they were to walk alone in a nearby park each night for a month. (Alternative a, b, and c of Question 4)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	73%	64%
Low Crime	69%	47%

Table 5E: Percentage of respondents who feel that there is at least a one in 100 chance that an unaccompanied woman would be the victim of a violent crime at night in a Toronto subway station. (Alternatives a, b, and c of Question 5)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	41%	54%
Low Crime	25%	26%

Table 5F: Percentage of respondents who feel that there is at least a one in 100 chance that they, one of their family or one of their close friends would be the victim of an assault during the next year. (Alternatives a, b, and c of question 6)

It is clear from these results, that people in all four areas sampled are very likely to overestimate the amount of crime in their neighbourhood and the city. These percentages demonstrate that there are large portions of the population of each of the sampled areas who feel that it is reasonably likely that they would be involved in crime in their normal activities.

We can turn, then, to the response that people show to their estimates of crime. Substantial numbers of people in all areas (See Table 5G, below) avoid walking alone at night at least occasionally (alternatives a, b, and c of Question 8) because they are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime.

	Suburb	City
High Crime	60%	49%
Low Crime	60%	57%

Table 5G: Percentage of respondents in each area who report that they sometimes avoid walking alone at night because they are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime. (Alternatives a, b, and c of Question 8)

Similarly, when one looks at the results of question 9, it is clear that in each of the four areas sampled, substantial numbers of people report that there are areas around their homes where they are afraid to walk in at night.

	Suburb	City
High Crime	75%	68%
Low Crime	65%	50%

Table 5H: Percentage of respondents in each area who report that there are areas near their homes where they would be afraid to walk in alone at night (Question 9).

Not surprisingly, then, substantial proportions of the people in each area feel that more money should be spent on police patrols in their area of the city (See Table 5I).

	Suburb	City
High Crime	68%	58%
Low Crime	55%	41%

Table 5I: Percentage of respondents in each area who feel that more money should be spent on police patrols of their area of the city (Alternatives a and b of Question 13).

Other responses on the questionnaire show similar kinds of findings. People in high crime areas were more likely than those in low crime areas to feel that people should arm to protect themselves in their own homes. (See Table 5J)

	Suburb	City
High Crime	24%	38%
Low Crime	9%	10%

Table 5J: Percentage of respondents who felt that people should keep firearms in their homes to protect themselves (Alternatives a and b of question 17).

In all four areas that were sampled, people thought that they were more likely to be hurt by a stranger than they were by someone previously known (87% of the respondents indicated that they felt that they were more likely to be harmed by a stranger -- alternatives a and b of question 10).

Generally speaking, then, people in all four areas sampled see Toronto as a fairly dangerous place. Furthermore, they see it as a more dangerous place to live than it was 10 years ago. When asked specifically about "the downtown areas of the city" most people indicated that they thought these areas were more dangerous than they were 10 years ago. Interestingly enough, this was especially the case in the High crime suburb that was sampled (See Table 5K).

	Suburb	City
High Crime	76%	53%
Low Crime	60%	64%

Table 5K: Percentage of respondents in each area who felt that the downtown areas of Toronto are now more dangerous than they were 10 years ago (Alternatives d and e of Question 28).

The people in the high crime suburb were also most likely to feel that people in Toronto are now more tolerant of violence than they used to be (See Table 5L).

	Suburb	City
High Crime	63%	50%
Low Crime	51%	48%

Table 5L: Percentage of respondents in each area who felt that people in Toronto tolerate violence more now than they used to (Alternatives a and b of Question 29).

Not surprisingly, then, at least 60% of the people in each area sampled felt that people were less likely to come to one's help if attacked than they were in the past (Alternatives d and e of Question 30).

However, most people in all areas indicated that they themselves would probably give direction to a stranger at night (Question 31). They aren't quite so optimistic, however, about the likelihood that an epileptic would get help from other people (See Table 5M).

	Suburb	City
High Crime	52%	32%
Low Crime	40%	42%

Table 5M: Percentage of respondents in each area who feel that an epileptic having a seizure would be unlikely to be helped (Alternatives c and d of question 32).

Finally, when one asks whether the respondent would intervene in a robbery in front of the respondent's home, there were, once again, differences among the four areas, with the respondents in the high crime suburb indicating that they were least likely to intervene (See Table 5N).

	Suburb	City
High Crime	1%	21%
Low Crime	14%	10%

Table 5N: Percentage of respondents in each area indicating that they thought they would intervene to help the victim of a robbery (Alternative a of Question 34).

Recently, the Toronto subway has been a focus of crime reporters' attention. As indicated earlier (see Table 5E) the subway is seen as a dangerous place for unaccompanied women. It is not surprising that substantial numbers of people in each area sampled overestimate the number of murders on the subway. Since its opening, there has been one murder in the TTC subway system. Over 30% of the respondents estimated that there

have been at least six murders (Question 26). Similarly, approximately 29% of the respondents estimated that there were over 20 assaults per day on the subway, when the official estimates are closer to one or two a week.

For whatever reason, the respondents to our questionnaire are not getting a very accurate view of crime.

Table 6: Questionnaire results pooled over the four areas sampled.
Numbers to the left of each alternative are the percentage of
respondents who chose each alternative

1. To what extent are crimes of violence a serious problem in your neighbourhood?
 - 6.8 a. they are an extremely serious problem
 - 12.8 b. they are a serious problem
 - 22.1 c. they are a problem, but not a serious one
 - 23.1 d. they do not occur frequently enough to be considered a problem
 - 35.3 e. they are not a problem in my neighbourhood.

2. What do you think the chances are that if you were to walk alone at night on the residential streets in your neighbourhood each night for a month that you would be the victim of a serious crime?
 - 16.1 a. approximately one chance in 10
 - 8.4 b. approximately one chance in 50
 - 15.3 c. approximately one chance in 100
 - 12.8 d. approximately one chance in 500
 - 17.6 e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - 29.7 f. approximately one chance in 10,000

3. If a child were to play alone in a park each day for a month, what do you think the chances are he would be the victim of a violent crime?
 - 23.0 a. approximately one chance in 10
 - 15.7 b. approximately one chance in 50
 - 12.6 c. approximately one chance in 100
 - 13.1 d. approximately one chance in 500
 - 20.9 e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - 14.7 f. approximately one chance in 10,000

4. If you were to walk by yourself in a park close to your home each night for a month, what do you think the chances are you would be the victim of a serious crime?
 - 24.8 a. approximately one chance in 10
 - 14.1 b. approximately one chance in 50
 - 17.9 c. approximately one chance in 100
 - 10.2 d. approximately one chance in 500
 - 15.9 e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - 17.1 f. approximately one chance in 10,000

5. What do you think the chances are that an unaccompanied woman would be the victim of violent crime late at night in a Toronto subway station?
 - 25.7 a. approximately one chance in 10
 - 19.0 b. approximately one chance in 50
 - 17.7 c. approximately one chance in 100
 - 15.7 d. approximately one chance in 500
 - 12.3 e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - 9.5 f. approximately one chance in 10,000

6. What do you think the chances are that you, one of your family, or one of your close friends might be the victim of an assault during the next year?

- 11.7 a. approximately one chance in 10
- 9.1 b. approximately one chance in 50
- 16.4 c. approximately one chance in 100
- 12.5 d. approximately one chance in 500
- 22.9 e. approximately one chance in 1000
- 27.5 f. approximately one chance in 10,000

7. How likely do you think it is that you or one of your close friends would have their house broken into during the next year?

- 25.4 a. very likely
- 25.4 b. fairly likely
- 21.0 c. not very likely
- 9.9 d. unlikely
- 10.4 e. very unlikely
- 7.9 f. extremely unlikely.

8. Do you ever decide not to walk alone at night because you are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime?

- 27.4 a. very often
- 11.7 b. often
- 16.9 c. occasionally
- 12.7 d. almost never
- 31.3 e. never.

9. Is there any area around your home (i.e., within a mile) where you would be afraid to walk in alone at night?

- 63.8 a. Yes
- 36.2 b. No

10. Would you imagine that you would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?

- 72.3 a. much more likely by a complete stranger
- 14.5 b. somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
- 7.3 c. about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
- 3.0 d. somewhat more likely by a previously known person
- 3.0 e. much more likely by a previously known person.

11. How dangerous do you think it is for a female to hitchhike (i.e., how dangerous do you think it is for a female hitchhiker to accept a ride with a male stranger)?

- 59.3 a. extremely dangerous
- 19.0 b. very dangerous
- 16.0 c. fairly dangerous
- 4.2 d. reasonably safe
- 1.0 e. quite safe
- .5 f. very safe

12. How dangerous do you think it is for a female driver of a car to pick up a male hitchhiker who is a stranger?

- 57.9 a. extremely dangerous
- 19.1 b. very dangerous
- 16.6 c. fairly dangerous
- 4.7 d. reasonably safe
- 1.2 e. quite safe
- .5 f. very safe.

13. Do you think it would be a good idea to spend more money on police patrols of your area of the city?

- 27.0 a. definitely yes
- 27.3 b. probably yes
- 17.1 c. undecided
- 18.1 d. probably not
- 10.4 e. definitely not.

14. Do you think that the police presently have sufficient powers to deal effectively with crime?

- 20.6 a. definitely yes
- 28.6 b. probably yes
- 16.4 c. undecided
- 20.4 d. probably not
- 13.5 e. definitely not.

15. Do you think that the police are doing an effective job of controlling crime?

- 31.6 a. definitely yes
- 39.6 b. probably yes
- 12.9 c. undecided
- 10.0 d. probably not
- 6.0 e. definitely not.

16. What percentage of serious assaults reported to the police do you think are solved?

- 15.2 a. 0-20%
- 27.5 b. 21-40%
- 32.0 c. 41-60%
- 18.9 d. 61-80%
- 6.4 e. 81-100%.

17. Do you think that it is useful for people to keep firearms in their homes to protect themselves?

- 11.9 a. definitely yes
- 9.9 b. probably yes
- 8.6 c. undecided
- 17.0 d. probably not
- 52.6 e. definitely not.

18. Do you lock your house when you leave it for a short time?

- 76.8 a. always
- 8.4 b. almost always
- 4.7 c. most of the time
- 3.2 d. occasionally
- 3.2 e. almost never
- 3.7 f. never.

19. Do you lock your home when you are home in it during the day?

- 49.3 a. always
- 13.1 b. almost always
- 7.6 c. most of the time
- 8.4 d. occasionally
- 8.4 e. almost never
- 13.3 f. never.

20. Should women carry a weapon such as a knife to protect themselves against sexual assault?

- 14.3 a. definitely yes
- 16.5 b. probably yes
- 16.0 c. undecided
- 20.7 d. probably not
- 32.3 e. definitely not.

21. Some people have suggested that one way to reduce the incidence of violent crime is to encourage people to stay away from areas thought to be high in crime. Do you think that this is a good way of dealing with the problem of crime?

- 21.3 a. definitely yes
- 22.1 b. probably yes
- 14.4 c. undecided
- 18.6 d. probably not
- 23.6 e. definitely not.

22. What proportion of murders in Toronto do you think are committed by people who could be classified as mentally ill?

- 16.3 a. 0-5%
- 17.1 b. 6-10%
- 16.0 c. 11-20%
- 18.4 d. 21-40%
- 16.3 e. 41-60%
- 16.0 f. 61-100%.

23. Approximately what proportion of assaults in Toronto are directed against members of racial minorities (i.e. non-whites) by whites?

- 28.1 a. 1-10%
- 26.7 b. 11-20%
- 25.1 c. 21-40%
- 16.2 d. 41-60%
- 3.9 e. 61-100%.

24. What proportion of serious assaults in Toronto do you think are carried out by non-whites?

- 20.1 a. 0-10%
- 22.8 b. 11-20%
- 19.5 c. 21-30%
- 25.8 d. 31-50%
- 8.5 e. 51-75%
- 3.3 f. 76-100%.

25. How many murders do you think took place in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975?

- 25.5 a. fewer than 50
- 40.1 b. 50-100
- 23.9 c. 101-200
- 6.2 d. 201-300
- 2.7 e. 301-500
- 1.6 f. more than 500.

26. During the last five years, how many people do you think were murdered in the TTC subway?

- 4.7 a. none
- 22.7 b. 1
- 42.4 c. 2-5
- 15.6 d. 6-10
- 6.5 e. 11-20
- 8.1 f. more than 20.

27. On the average, how many people do you think were assaulted each day in the TTC subway during 1975?

- 71.4 a. 0-20
- 12.9 b. 21-40
- 5.4 c. 41-60
- 4.3 d. 61-100
- 1.9 e. 101-200
- 4.0 f. over 200.

28. Do you think that the downtown areas of Toronto are becoming safer or a more dangerous place to live than they were ten years ago?

- 2.8 a. a much safer place
- 6.6 b. a safer place
- 28.3 c. about the same
- 44.7 d. more dangerous place
- 17.7 e. a much more dangerous place.

29. Do you think that people in Toronto tolerate violence more now than they used to?

- 19.5 a. definitely yes
- 32.9 b. probably yes
- 18.0 c. undecided
- 18.7 d. probably not
- 11.0 e. definitely not.

30. Compared to the past, do you think that people are more or less likely to come to your help if you were attacked on a downtown street?

- 3.0 a. much more
- 9.9 b. somewhat more
- 23.1 c. about the same
- 30.5 d. somewhat less
- 33.5 e. much less.

31. If you were walking alone on a residential street at night and someone asked you for directions, would you stop and give him the directions?

- 29.2 a. definitely yes
- 41.3 b. probably yes.
- 10.6 c. undecided
- 8.9 d. probably not
- 9.9 e. definitely not.

32. If a person were to have an epileptic seizure on the street in front of you, how likely do you think most people would be to help?

- 24.9 a. very likely
- 34.6 b. somewhat likely
- 23.5 c. somewhat unlikely
- 17.0 d. very unlikely.

33. If, in the middle of the night, a stranger knocked on your door and asked to use your telephone to call someone to help him start his car that had apparently stalled on your street, which of the following would you be most likely to do:

- 7.7 a. let him in
- 53.7 b. ask his name, etc., and make the call for him
- 21.8 c. tell him where the nearest public telephone was
- 7.9 d. call the police
- 8.9 e. close the door, lock it and not make the call.

34. If you saw an apparently unarmed man robbing someone in front of your home, what would you be most likely to do?

- 12.3 a. intervene to try to help the victim
- 59.4 b. call the police immediately
- 25.1 c. call the police and then see if the victim needed help
- 1.5 d. wait until the assailant left and then see if the victim needed help
- 1.7 e. ignore the incident.

35. Do you listen to the news on the radio?

- 63.1 a. yes, every day
- 17.7 b. yes, almost every day
- 5.9 c. yes, approximately 3-4 times per week
- 7.4 d. occasionally
- 2.9 e. almost never
- 2.9 f. never.

36. Do you subscribe to a newspaper?	Globe:	9.5
	Star:	55.3
67.2 a. yes	Sun:	8.4
32.8 b. no	Two of the above:	23.6
If yes, which newspaper(s) _____	Other:	2.9

37. How often do you read a newspaper?

- 51.7 a. every day
- 13.1 b. almost every day
- 13.5 c. approximately 3-4 times per week
- 16.3 d. occasionally
- 4.2 e. almost never
- 1.2 f. never.

Study XII:

A Sampling of the Treatment of Violence by Toronto Newspapers

by

Julian Roberts

Research Associate

Note: Appendices for this study
follow immediately after the
text (Pages 125-154)

The authenticity of a printed news item has long been its most important and contentious component. Endless debates arose over the partiality of daily information sheets posted in the ancient Roman forum; just as many arguments undoubtedly were generated by the authors of the eighteenth-century "magazines", fore-runners of the modern newspaper. It is of course seldom that news is transmitted by a mere string of facts, inevitably the man behind the stylus, pen or typewriter will introduce some bias by casting the same set of facts in a different light. Events are frequently "editorialized" to enhance the bare facts. In these days of highly competitive journalism the paper that can present the same news in a more interesting or appealing way will survive the longest.

Although television has established itself as the most popular medium in North American culture, there is evidence that people still rely heavily upon newspapers for information. In a survey carried out recently 72% of those interviewed said they read a newspaper regularly whereas only 23% indicated they watched the local news on the television. This was a very small survey, but its findings do not contradict similar ones. If we assume this finding to apply to the public at large, then the papers must still maintain a strong effect on our perceptions of important social issues such as violence in the cities.

With this in mind, great care must be exercised in presenting items that may alter these perceptions and subsequent behaviours. At times a general indifference to this concern can be observed in the Toronto newspapers, as will become apparent from some of the following excerpts. The purpose here is not to isolate or indict any particular publication but rather to highlight items from all three major

local newspapers that may have undesirable effects upon their readers. It is often assumed that the primary purpose of the media is to inform the public, to present an accurate representation of reality from which equally accurate perceptions may be extracted. When newspapers fail to reflect society accurately their readers are likely to hold inaccurate perceptions. With the issue of violence in the city the problem becomes particularly salient since the social costs resulting from false notions of urban danger can be considerable.

Back issues of the Toronto Sun were examined from January through October 1976. The Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star were only scrutinized during the period from June until October 1976. The Sun publishes a daily police report (see appendix page 8) in which any crime reported in the previous twenty-four hours is recorded. In addition to this and the regular crime stories there is also the "Crime Flashback" feature which relives the more spectacular crimes of past years (see appendix page 18).

There are some readers who, for want of time or interest, or both, merely flick through a newspaper reading most, if not all of its headlines and few, if any, of its stories. Headlines for some readers then, tell all. Rather than just describing or summarizing the contents of a story, they become a part of them. They must be both arresting and informative: this can often only be achieved at the expense of accuracy. To quote Simeon Potter, the linguist:

"The short words, not necessarily the right words, must be found at all costs....in the language of headlines any compact, contract, agreement, engagement, convention, covenant, stipulation, armistice, pledge, truce or treaty becomes a "pact"...any abridgement, abbreviation, shortening, curtailment or reduction a "cut"...any investigation, inquisition, interrogation, examination, scrutiny, inquiry or exploration a "probe" *

* "Our Language" by Simeon Potter, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England.

and so on, the list is endless. It seems clear then that for the sake of brevity and appeal accuracy must often go by the board. Perhaps the most spectacular example of a headline designed to attract without informing, to promise without fulfilling, comes from a British newspaper. In describing the ordeal of one Martin Hartwell, a Canadian of German extraction who was driven to cannibalism in order to survive two months in the wilderness, a paper used the following headline: "EX-LUFTWAFFE PILOT DEVOURS BRITISH NURSE".

Numerous variables affect the impression left by a news story. One empirical study-by A. Booth^{**} showed that pictorial accompaniment, duration and frequency all facilitate, to some degree, later recall of news items. In newspapers, location, length, headline size, style and whether or not there is a picture, all probably affect the impact of a story. The problem of significant social costs arising from distortions in the media's presentation of violence may be seen from the following perspective. Assuming people avoid certain activities through fear of violent consequences, they must have an exaggerated sense of danger in the city, which is a result of being more aware of those violent incidents that do occur. In other words they are recalling violent news items more than non-violent ones. Selective use of the variables mentioned above is presumably responsible for this differential recall.

Pictorial accompaniment has possibly the most dramatic effect and frequently newspapers include photographs that convey little or no information but merely serve to capture the reader's attention. An example is seen in the Toronto Sun of June 21st (see appendix page 13 - see also the same incident reported in the Toronto Star) in which

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"Recall of news items" by A. Booth, Public Opinion Quarterly V.34.

a homicide story is accompanied by a picture showing the chalk outline of the victim's final position, surrounded by blood-stains. In the July 21st issue of the same paper (appendix page 2) a spouse-killing story contained a photograph of the victim's (and murderer's) home with their truck parked in the driveway. Of course the vehicle had nothing to do with the incident and the front of the house affords no insight into the crime. The photograph is irrelevant and could only serve to enhance reader recall and also embarrass the 4 children of the deceased since the address was mentioned in the report and the house number is easily readable in the picture. This questionable policy of doing little to disguise the victims or the authors of various crimes is also in evidence in the daily crime round-ups. Here names and addresses of victims are published, along with descriptions of suspects (e.g. a "50 year old McCowan Road man was charged with gross indecency" - see appendix page 8).

Occasionally photos and sketches form a large part of a paper's coverage of some event. Naturally there are some proceedings which, by their nature require pictorial rather than verbal description- large public events usually- in these the spirit of the moment can only be captured by the camera. It seems doubtful however that this philosophy can justify the inclusion of pictures about isolated, personal homicides, which only entertain but do not inform. On January 11th, 1976, (appendix page 3) a man was killed while attempting to escape Metro Police by holding a hostage. The following day this received banner headlines in the Sun. The front page contained a series of photographs showing the actual moment of death - this was in fact the only story mentioned on the front page. Seven full pages

of the paper were devoted to stories, pictures and sketches in any way related to the deceased or his death. Then there is the Sunday Sun of August 22nd (appendix page 4) which carried a dramatic full-length front page photograph of a tearful woman, above whom there was a large headline: "WITNESS TO MURDER". The following day saw a minute correction to the effect that the woman only knew the victim and in fact had not been near the scene of the crime at the time.

After photographs, lurid details and sensational descriptions seem to be the popular way of arousing reader interest. Sometimes accounts of assaults, and homicides especially, contain a remarkable wealth of detail:

(There was) "a stab wound near the navel which severed several arteries. His body was found in a bed in the 2nd floor bedroom of their Parkway Avenue flat in the Roncesvalles and Howard Park Avenue district."

(Sun, March 3rd).

(The) "victim had suffered a 3" wound in the stomach, inflicted by a 7" black-handled butcher-knife found in the kitchen along with blood-covered towels, gauze, bandages, tape and rugs which were found in a garbage bag." (Sun, March 2nd).

On March 16th the same publication described a man who was "praying for his life when one of the two young men who had robbed him plunged a dull fish-knife into his chest and then twice tried to slit his throat."

Such details are certainly eye-catching if not exactly in proportion in terms of impact. These morbid and grisly descriptions correspond to the on-screen murders in television shows: that is the same information could be conveyed less dramatically without alarming the viewer or reader, as the case may be. People reading gruesome details such as these are bound to recall them better than brief accounts that only reveal the cause of death. The very brutality of these stories becomes a mnemonic device to facilitate later recall. The average reader can hardly help but be startled by stories written in this fashion.

Usually violence in the city receives prime-space location in the three major newspapers. The Star will generally refer briefly to an incident somewhere on the front page and will then follow this up with the rest of the story on page 2 (see appendix page 6). Less dramatic or important items appear later, on the "Metro News" page. The Sun reports any violent incidents on the first three pages, before it reaches the international news and the columnists. In the Globe and Mail location seems to vary with the individual importance of each item.

One particular story is worth mentioning at this point because of its different treatment by the three newspapers. In September, Dr. Norman Bell of the University of Toronto released details of a forthcoming Statistics Canada publication which showed that only 13% of Canadian murder victims over the past 14 years were killed by strangers. Most people, when asked, will place this percentage much higher - possibly as a result of the greater publicity accorded this type of homicide. The Sun published this little-known statistic and followed it with a statement by a Metro Police detective who "declared" that "statisticians and lawmakers were giving the public the wrong image" since in Toronto, in 1976, there had been more murders by strangers. The Sun printed Bell's statistics and the detective's opinion, based upon statistically negligible figures, under the headline "OUR MURDERS BREAK PATTERN" (i.e. the pattern present in the figures for the past 14 years - see appendix page 7). Moreover, directly beneath this story was a description of a senseless killing by a "stranger" (sic) as though to further emphasize the detective's

point of view. Anyone reading the first story would inevitably read the second. The Star published a story on Bell's figures under the headline "FEWER METRO KILLINGS NOW FAMILY AFFAIRS", but then buried it at the very end of one of the later sections of the paper (see appendix page #9). The Globe and Mail made little mention of the story.

An examination of some of the headlines of the past few months also reveals some interesting differences. Headlines take up far more space in the Sun than in the other two major papers. The ratio of headline-to-story space is consistently higher with its consequent effect on those people who pay more attention to headlines than stories. This paper allots banner-style front page headlines (that other papers reserve for moon-landings and similar historic occasions) to many stories of questionable importance. Take for instance the Sun front page of September 7th, 1976. The headline reads: "POLICE FORCE GATE AS KISS KIDS RIOT". Underneath this another, smaller one appears: "ROCK FANS STORM VARSITY STADIUM". The definition from the Oxford English Dictionary of the word "riot" runs as follows: "A violent disturbance of the peace by an assembly or body of persons; an outbreak of active lawlessness among the populace; a hostile attack or encounter".* This is hardly the appropriate word to use to describe the incident, which was the result of confusion rather than premeditation. "Storm" is also hardly the word to use in describing a disturbance at one entrance to the stadium. The Sun in this instance has created a front page item out of a one column, middle-of-the-paper story. Headlines of this nature also reinforce the impression, held by some people, that "Rock" fans are unruly and potentially explosive. (appendix page #16)

* The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University press. 1971.

An interesting contrast appears in August, 1976. When an unarmed man who was an out-patient, and only that, at a Toronto hospital, held a boy hostage for an hour the Sun used the following headline: "COPS FREE BOY HOSTAGE FROM MENTAL PATIENT" (appendix page #10). The Sun's definition of what constitutes a mental patient is quite curious here. It might be noted here that the public believes "mental patients" to be responsible for a greater percentage of homicides than is actually the case. Needless fear of people being treated for mental disorders may lead to greater discrimination against these individuals. The Star omitted any reference to mental illness in their headline which ran: "POLICE SMASH THROUGH DOOR FREE HOSTAGE" (appendix page#10).

On June 21st the Sun published the picture of bloodstains previously alluded to with a covering story headed "MAN DEAD IN POOL OF BLOOD". The Star's story conveyed the same amount of information in approximately 1/8th of the space, and was headed "CHARGES LAID IN FIGHT THAT LEFT MAN, 31, DEAD". The latter treatment seems eminently preferable. Sometimes headlines will include information that is irrelevant yet somehow makes the violence more shocking and sensational: "MAN BEATEN UP AT SUBWAY ON WAY HOME FROM CHURCH" (Sun, January 5th, 1976)
"MOM OF 4 SHOT DEAD" (Sun, July 21st, 1976)
"MURDER VICTIM LEFT DANCE WITH A MAN"

As if in response to statements made by T.T.C. officials describing how safe the subway system was, the Sun printed a story (within the "In the News" section) which was headlined "ONE VETERAN DRIVER WHO KNOWS THE T.T.C. IS NOT AS SAFE NOW". The reasons why this driver "knew"

rather than merely "thought" the subway to be less safe were not clear from the ensuing story. In a similar vein the Star on June 18th, 1976, published a story under this: "FORCED TO BARRICADE THEMSELVES - SENIORS FEAR THE STREETS, FORUM TOLD". The statement prompting this headline was merely a single opinion based upon nothing more objective than personal experience.

A singularly bizarre incident between two teenagers, formerly lovers, received much coverage in both the Sun and the Star. The Sun's headline ran "HER THROAT WAS SLIT INSIDE AMBULANCE" (appendix page #13). The crucial aspect to the writer of this headline was obviously the fact that it occurred inside rather than outside the ambulance. In all probability the incident would have taken place wherever the two individuals had happened to be at the time. The Star covered the incident in a somewhat similar manner, but did go into more depth concerning the relationship between the two people involved.

Headlines can also be very effective in arousing emotion in the readers - witness the following article on the largely media-created issue of subway safety: "SLAIN GIRL'S MOM BEGS FOR TIGHTER SECURITY" (Sun, June 9th, 1976, appendix page #14). Notice "slain" instead of "dead", "girl" rather than "victim", "Mom" instead of "parent" or "mother" and "begs" as opposed to "asks", "demands" or even "pleads". This deliberate choice of words is obviously calculated to arouse the readers. No mention of the actual safety statistics is made in the ensuing article, there is nothing to remind the reader that the Toronto subway may be the safest system in the world.

A good contrast is noticeable in two treatments of different murders but this time from the same paper. One has a conspicuous headline

(appendix page #15A) and contains the usual statements describing the victim as "a nice guy, I don't know why anyone would want to murder him". The implication here is that the murderer must have been a stranger since no-one that knew the deceased could possibly have wanted to kill him. The second story (appendix page 15B) is a brief 57 word description (of another murder) that is nevertheless perfectly adequate.

Consider the effect of both stories upon the reader: he or she is more likely to recall the former because of its length and sense of drama and yet there is nothing to remind the reader that spontaneous murders by strangers are relatively rare events. Nor is there any mention of the fact that the reason the crime seems to have been committed by a stranger is that the police at that point probably did not know enough about the antecedent circumstances. This is a good example of the trend in news reporting to dramatize the initial diagnosis - a motiveless homicide - one that is subsequently modified when the investigation has uncovered more information. In another similar instance a man was killed by two others who burst into his apartment late one night; this was the subject of much attention since the subsequent police investigation was at first unable to connect the murderers with their victim. Some time later it was discovered that they were card-playing acquaintances of the man who were owed a substantial amount of money arising from gambling debts: they had come to collect.

Sometimes these relationships do not come to light until a trial has begun and, predictably enough, an on-going trial receives far less attention in the papers (until the verdict is about to be announced) than the original murder. This could partly explain why many people believe there are more stranger-to-stranger killings. After all, that

is the kind of homicide they are most likely to read about. Yet another example of this trend is the treatment of the death of one Mrs. Mary McKenna, who was found dead in her bedroom (see appendix page #15C). Initially there seemed to be no connection with anyone who knew her; later it turned out that she had attended and left a dance with a friend of hers who subsequently disappeared.

This trend is not restricted to the newspapers. Back in June 1976, a man was beaten up, after which he told the police he would "get even" with his assailants. Thus far it was not a big news item, however three days later the same man was found floating in Grenadier Pond in Toronto's west end. The radio broadcasts made much of the "obvious" connection between the man's words of revenge and his untimely death. In fact the inquest which was held a few days later clearly established that there had been no "foul play" involved. This finding received the briefest attention in the Sun (see appendix page #14) and was not mentioned, to the best of our knowledge, on any subsequent radio news broadcasts. The same pattern is clear here: people who heard or read about the man's death probably did not see the small follow-up and therefore continued to believe that the incident was just another homicide. Small wonder many people believe there were far more than just 48 murders in Toronto last year (1975).

On a separate occasion a headline announced "ANOTHER BEATING MURDER" (appendix page #2). This death was not the case in an homicidal epidemic (as the title may have led some to believe) but merely the fourth murder of its kind in that area during the previous seven months. Actually the article later went on to state that this "latest" murder was not officially connected, by the police, with any

of the previous ones. Perhaps the article would have been more accurately headed "METRO BEATING MURDER" or something similar. Certainly the use of "another" seems unjustified.

The Sun article reproduced on appendix page 13 is a gem of thoughtless journalism. The article begins by reporting the T.T.C. chairman's statements that "violence in the subways is an absolute non-issue" and then goes on to list a number of "tips" designed to make a subway ride safer. These include checking the back seat of your car for suspicious strangers and selecting the driver's car when actually on the subway. Although women are advised to carry a rape whistle, it should not, according to this article, be carried around the neck where it is apparently "handy for the strangling type of pervert". Given the rather alarming nature of some of these "tips" it is anyone's guess whether this article would reassure subway riders or make them more anxious.

There are certain areas, certain specific locations in the city that some people seem to associate naturally with violence and danger. One of these is the various Ontario Housing developments in general and the one located at Regent Park in particular. When an incident takes place in an O.H.C. development the location is frequently mentioned in news reports. On March 16th, 18th and 19th, 1976, respectively, the Sun ran three articles on an incident that occurred in Regent Park. There were exactly four direct references to Regent Park in each of the three articles.

Another favourite is the rooming-house. Whenever a murder or a beating occurs in, near or around a rooming-house, the papers are sure to report it as that rather than as a house, or a residence:

"The body of a man who died after a scuffle in a West-End rooming house last week remains unclaimed at the Metro morgue" (Sun, April 22nd, 1976) and...."Investigation is also continuing into another Ontario St. murder... R.P. Harte was found in the basement of a rooming-house" (same paper, same day).

When a rape is reported in any location other than the victim's or rapist's home, the papers usually go to great lengths to describe the exact location. The precise area of the parking-lot or park is described rather than just reporting the crime as occurring in "a park". The crime statistics reveal that rapes in such public places are relatively rare events; by far the majority of sexual assaults take place in the residence of either the victim or the rapist. Rape stories in the paper never conclude by stating the actual incidence of rapes in parks or underground garages. Informal interviewing of females in the city shows that many of them are needlessly afraid of the parks in Toronto. (For examples of rape stories, see page 20 of the appendix).

The number of violent assaults on Yonge Street is not increasing dramatically and yet there are some people (especially women) who refuse to walk down Yonge Street at night for fear of being attacked. The presence of crowds on the "strip" is probably responsible for its relative safety compared to some less busy and more dangerous streets in the East End. If more people start to become sensitive to violence in the downtown core in general, they are likely to stay away, thus unconsciously making the area less safe. This notion of a self-fulfilling prophecy is not of course new, it has been proposed before and its existence can be observed in some American cities, of

which Detroit is the usual example. In that city of approximately 1.5 million residents, a life-less downtown core witnessed 685 murders last year, a figure sure to be surpassed in 1976. Detroit newspapers publish, towards the end of the year, the murder statistics which are adjusted daily, alongside the pollution index and the temperature readings. It is obviously in the interest of the city to prevent its citizens from needlessly avoiding the downtown area.

The Toronto Sun dated September 5th, 1976, provides another example of a newspaper's penchant for distorting a violent incident. The occasion this time was the suicide of a man in a high-rise building on Dundonald Street. Before he turned his rifle on himself the man fired several shots at the streets below. Some pedestrians were injured, mainly by flying asphalt kicked up by the bullets. Since the shots were fired at the street rather than the sidewalk there is some cause to doubt the presumption that he was actually aiming at human targets. All the shots were fired within five minutes, and none of them were contingent upon external events, that is to say the last self-inflicted shot was not a desperate move to avoid police capture. Since no-one was near him at the time of death some people have suggested that he was shooting to attract attention rather than to kill individuals. When the story appeared in the Sun it was transformed somewhat for the sake of a good headline: "SNIPER FIRES ON DOWNTOWN SHOPPERS".

The first inaccuracy involves the use of the word "sniper" which is defined in Funk and Wagnalls as one who "shoots at or picks off individual enemies from hiding"*. This word would be perfectly

* Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary. New York. 1973.

applicable here were it not for the fact that the man did not "pick off" the people, but shot apparently almost randomly at the ground; was not aiming at individuals at all, was not firing at an enemy in the usual sense of the word, and was not doing all this from hiding but rather from a point on the building that made him visible to all on the ground. A more accurate word to have used would have been "gunman" or more specifically still, "rifleman". The difference may not appear very substantial at first but upon reflection there is something far more alarming about the word "sniper", with its connotation of sudden, defenceless death- or more recently- its association with terrorism and urban guerilla warfare. The word appears no less than 4 times on the front page. There is also no evidence that his targets were "downtown shoppers"- to make this assumption implies the absurd notion that the rifleman carefully avoided all non-shopping persons on the street below. The headline in the form it appeared is the most arresting if not most accurate description of the incident and for this reason it was probably selected. Such a headline only feeds the fears of citizens who are already rather afraid of the area. Now they will presumably be on the alert for "shopper-crazy homicidal maniacs" when they next go shopping downtown. (see appendix page 19).

The Globe and Mail gave the shooting incident less dramatic attention, but still used the word "sniper" throughout its coverage. They did however use the following headline: "MAN, 30, WOUNDS 5 JUST AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM MENTAL CENTER". The implication here is that the man's actions were directly contingent upon his release from the mental center. Whether it was or not is an entirely separate matter

and not one that could be decided by a newspaper reporter.

Interestingly enough none of the papers raised the issue of gun control, for which this incident is a perfect argument. The man bought his rifle immediately before climbing to the top of the building. Had he been required to make the necessary licence application advocated by gun control lobbyists, the rifle would have not been in his hands that afternoon.

Sometimes bad layout makes an attempt at correcting public mis-perceptions backfire. The Saturday Star dated October 23rd, 1976, contained a front page headline: "METRO'S FEAR OF CRIME EXAGGERATED, EXPERTS SAY". The whole of page two went on to document this position with statistics and studies relevant to the question. Each article begins however with describing something alarming. The front page one starts off relating the story of a senseless assault, one story on page two tells readers how to deal with a burglar and another describes a man who trains dogs to be savage and vicious guardians of private citizens' homes. Whatever reassuring figures there are seem to be buried deep within an article, usually near the end. Once again the question must be raised: do articles in this style and format reassure the public about the relative safety of their city or do they alarm them by making the issue more visible? (See Study XIII)

One interesting juxtaposition is the Star of November 10 (appendix page 23) in which an article about an insane murderer was placed alongside another story about another murder, this time of a school-girl. Then there is the Globe (appendix page 24) headline treatment of the court proceedings of the trial of two young men accused and subsequently convicted of a racial assault. Why they had to repeat

the assailants racial, inaccurate epithet in one of those headlines is not clear, it just forces the term "paki" into the public's mind more than it is now. At the present it is the usual racist term which is applied to Indians, Pakistanis, Burmese, Malayans, etc.

In a recent Star story (December 23, 1976,) (appendix page 25), a man was attacked in the Beaches area. The crucial aspect to this story according to the headline was the fact that he was "walking from store".

The Toronto Sun placed two incongruous headlines together on December 3rd (appendix page 26). One read "I killed my husband but I loved him" and another stated "The wonderful ways you're saving power". Presumably the Sun regards the former as mundane as the latter. On the second page was an emotionally charged story headed "Sobs wrack accused killer". On the same page was another story headed: "Torso murder case: Odor was sickly". (appendix page 27).

Another Star story described a rescue attempt that resulted in a beating for the would-be rescuer. The headline and the moral of the story was: Rescue attempt leads to beating. (Appendix page 28).

These examples lead one to treat the newspapers' claim to be adequately informing the public with some skepticism. In numerous instances a flagrant disregard for the accuracy of the story is displayed. Occasionally these lapses result from a stronger desire to attract attention than to inform the public, but presumably they often originate in thoughtless journalism. Since the social costs arising from inaccurate public perceptions are evidently great, one wonders why more caution is not exercised.

The five most evident (and possibly most damaging) trends observed in newspapers of recent months are summarized below. All newspapers to some degree sensationalize violence needlessly, this includes describing items in lurid detail, accompanied by irrelevant photographs and sketches. Secondly, some papers place appeal before accuracy, thus distorting the image presented to the public. This appears to be especially true of headlines. Thirdly, the initial (usually inaccurate) assessment of some crime, say a homicide, is given more space and attention than the subsequent investigation. In this manner readers are acquainted only with the early assessment of a crime by a reporter, the later facts which often change the nature of the charge, the antecedent circumstances and the identity of the accused are not so accessible to the occasional reader. This could help to explain why many people believe most murders to be the result of stranger-to-stranger encounters. Yet another disturbing pattern is the papers' consistent failure to accompany violent stories of an alarming nature with a brief paragraph outlining the actual incidence of that particular crime. At least some of the space now devoted to pictures and opinions could be more profitably used to include these very necessary figures. Readers are less likely to be alarmed by a downtown beating murder if they are aware of the rarity of such homicides.

Lastly newspapers too often associate crime with certain references to specific locations, such as subway stations, parks, Yonge street et al. Often these location details are not relevant to the story, their inclusion only increases public fear of usually safe everyday locales.

The undesirable consequences resulting from a community whose members hold irrational, exaggerated fears about violence can be avoided by correcting these false impressions at an early stage. This means focusing upon the main source of information- the media- in order to align more closely their images of society with reality.

To view the manner in which Toronto newspapers treat crime and violence in a proper perspective, it is worth reviewing some of the pertinent research that has been conducted in the field of mass communications.

Several studies have focused upon different aspects or techniques of news presentation both in the papers and on television. Some of the methods in use for decades are now being re-appraised in order to find exactly how the audience extracts its information. A number of technological innovations over the past few years have facilitated a drastic reduction in the interval between an event occurring and its subsequent presentation as a news story on the other side of the world. The concept of a "Global Village", as McLuhan would describe it, is now, and has been for some years now, a reality which is central to the dissemination of news.

The presence of global news agencies such as Reuters and the Associated Press means that notable crimes or acts of violence in areas far removed from a paper can still be carried in its columns. In this way the paper can publish stories related to the crimes occurring within its own community and others relating to crimes committed across the world. The local illustration of this point is The Toronto Sun which carries stories from across the continent and in their Crime Flashback feature, from across the years. This paper

thus manages to employ the dimensions of time and space in its search for shocking criminal exploits.

Some of the issues brought up in the previous discussion of local newspapers have been raised by earlier researchers. First of all there is some evidence to support our concern for the misuse of the word "sniper". Researchers at the Lemberg centre for the study of violence investigated 25 news stories in which premeditated, selective sniping resulted in injuries. They found little evidence for either conspiratorial planning or systematic sniping. Many of the people injured were victims of shotgun blasts, an equally serious but entirely different kettle of fish, especially with regard to the effect on the public. There was precious little to sustain the presentation in the news which raised the spectre of a hidden, single round sniper.

The researchers saw their results as supporting the view that the press had generated a certain expectation and then interpreted the event accordingly. In this case they had the image of the sniper in mind prior to describing the event. To quote Hartmann and Husband: "this would seem not to be the case of deliberate distortion by the press so much as an example of the way a "scenario" or news perspective may come to shape perceptions and interpretations".

These two writers also mention another interesting aspect of the news media, and one prominent in many forms both here and in other countries. The news media are adapted to what Hartmann and Husband describe as a "diurnal rhythm". Not only do they appear consistently in a 24-hour cycle but they are programmed to present events that have taken place within the preceding period. Anything else is not news, or is at best stale news.

This leads the newspapers to report primarily those events that require a short space of time to occur. Since it usually takes little time to accomplish the destruction of another person, murders make ideal news items for all forms of the media. This is above and beyond their suitability as crowd-pleasers. Rapes, short prison dramas, riots, fires and suicides are also very suitable. Other events such as a protracted court case or an example of racial or economic exploitation are not so tailored to mass consumption. These events do not achieve a dramatic climax within a few hours and are therefore not as amenable to instant description. Hartmann and Husband quote the example of ghetto conditions. The day-to-day exploitation and frustration that are part of ghetto life remain unreported; the isolated riot with its accompanying violence, that arises from these conditions is sure to hit the front page.

The news media can also have the adverse effect of needlessly polarizing segments of society, by forcing the reader or the viewer to accept a simplified explanation of an event such as a riot. The media cannot describe an occurrence in terms of underlying social forces and still less by reference to the structural features of society, but they do have to point the finger somewhere. A reader will regard a story without an explanation as unsatisfying. This is avoided by "personalizing" the event, by selecting an easily identifiable person or group of persons at whose doorstep the blame may be laid. This leads to the usual media stereotypes, to "culprits" such as students, left-wing political extremists and civil-rights demonstrators, to cull some examples from the sixties.

In this manner the news is far more digestible to the public.

Without a definite cause events become unintelligible to the reader and he will consider himself uninformed. Of course any attempt to divine the true cause to a complex mass event such as a riot, within the short space of a newspaper column is doomed, at best to a gross oversimplification. Another writer - D.J. Boorstin - referring to the trend to sensationalize the news says the following: "There was a time when the reader of an uninteresting newspaper would remark "How dull is the world today!" Nowadays he says: "What a dull newspaper!"". Today's reader has been conditioned to expect dramatic and sensational stories, and when they do not appear he has sufficient faith in his notion of reality to consider the paper to be in error. He knows there is some sensational news somewhere in the city, it just hasn't been reported. Boorstin continues: "The effort to put pep into the news means that the slightest disturbance is likely to be headlined "More Violence Flares" and a dispute over political policy as "A Race Row". Not only headlines but the selection of events to be covered and items to be published is also influenced by the need to titillate, hold, and if possible, increase the audience. The news media respond quickly and with keen interest to the conflicts and controversies of the racial story, but for the most part, disregard the problems that seethe beneath the surface."

Hartmann and Husband also have something more to add: "Conflict and controversy are the essence of 'newsworthiness' and their significance as criteria in news selection is as apparent in the coverage of sport as it is in politics and race. The subjective skills of the newsman when applied to the reporting of race produce an emphasis

on conflict, negativeness and the unusual that again sets 'news-worthiness' at odds with reporting underlying trends and background information. It is the discrete event which is more able to encapsulate the elements of conflict and excitement and which can be condensed into a forceful news story. The underlying processes of urban living and the 'reasons' for prejudice and discontent are on these criteria less amenable to manipulation into good news items than are manifestations of violence, crime, and individual tragedy which are the more visible symptoms". Although these two authors are referring specifically to the news media view of racial problems in Britain, the same principles are discernible in the treatment of crime and violence in North America.

Returning briefly to the effects of newspaper headlines, there are a couple of studies that indicate a great deal of influence is wielded by the headline writer. Apparently the larger the headline the more likely it is to be read and also the more likely the reader is to continue reading the story below the headline (Knapper and Warr 1965). In 1928 Emig found that 51% of the respondents in his survey claimed to base their opinions on reading or skimming the headlines. This with 31% who claimed to base their opinions on reading the actual stories.

It is probably true to say that the man who writes the headlines exercises as much power over the readers' perceptions as anyone on the newspaper staff. Headlines appear to be more effective in arresting attention and swaying opinion than many people believe. They also determine whether a given person will read that particular article or bypass it. The effect of the headlines is also

not restricted to newspaper readers alone, there seems to be a number of people whose only contact with the papers is the sight of the headlines in someone else's paper. The only parts of the paper visible to the proverbial over-the-shoulder reader are the headlines. In a crowded subway or on the evening bus the headlines are presumably scanned by many people besides the owner of the paper.

There are a few experts in the field who are more concerned about the over-abundance of violence developing anxiety in the viewer rather than stimulating aggression. This effect is strongest when people believe what they read to be true. Although several studies have shown that the public sometimes views newspapers with a certain amount of skepticism, the realism of televised newscasts has not been challenged. The wave of "realistic" motion pictures may also be increasing anxiety about violence in the general public. Several popular movies of the past few months have treated specific social problems related to violence in a way that can hardly reassure an already edgy public. For those who remain complacent about the existence of snipers there is "Two Minute Warning"; for those searching for a speedy solution to the problem of crime in the streets there is "Death Wish", "Taxi Driver" and "Dark Sunday"; anyone concerned about the decline of retributive justice can draw comfort from "Straw Dogs", "Lipstick" or "Death Week-end".

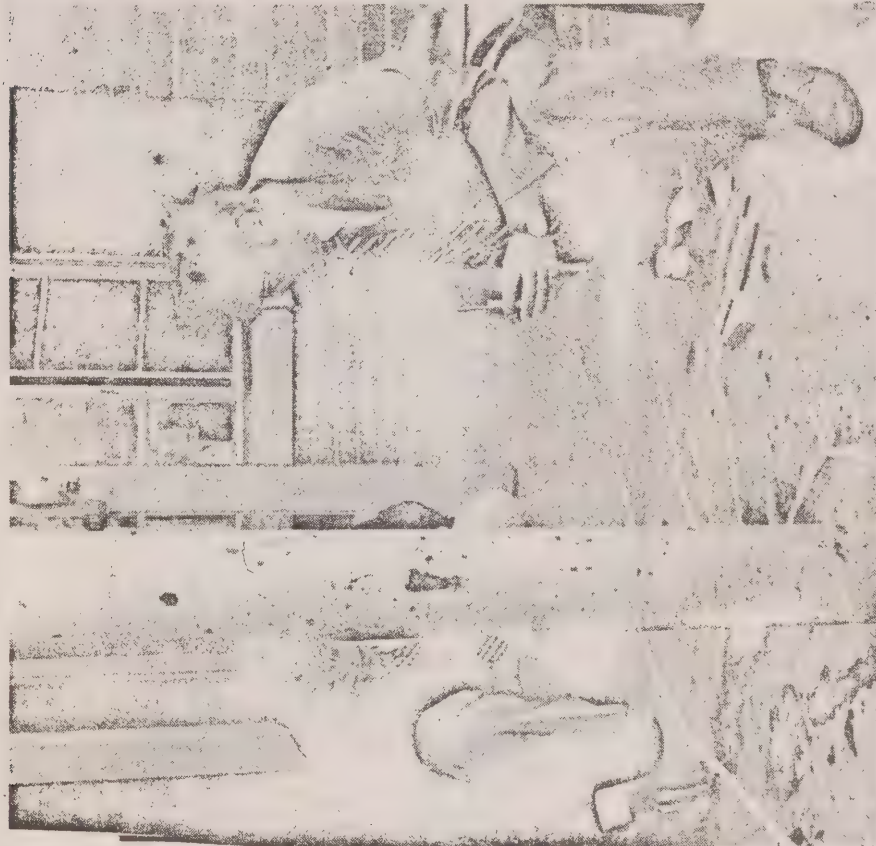
Charges laid in fight that left man, 31, dead

Two men were charged with manslaughter last night as the result of a fight in which a third man died.

Henry Seward MacDonald, 31, was pronounced dead at St. Michael's Hospital Sunday after being found beaten and unconscious on Dundas St. E. at the rear of the Regent Park housing

development where he lived. Police said MacDonald had been involved in a fight with two men at Parliament and Oak Sts. early Sunday. Charged are Robert Michael McCulloch, 20, of Berkeley St., and Thomas John Dunphy, 18, of Davenport Rd.

Toronto Star 21 June 1976



BLOODSTAINS show in the outline of where Henry MacDonald's body was found yesterday. Constable Robert Porter, left, of the identification bureau, and Sgt. Herman

Lowe, of the homicide squad, examine the area and take samples in effort to track down the killer.

— roger white, sun

Toronto Sun 21 June 1976

Mandead in pool of blood

A 31-year-old man was found beaten to death in a pool of blood yesterday the back steps of a downtown Ontario Housing Corporation apartment block.

Police identified the victim as Henry Seward MacDonald, of no fixed address. An autopsy revealed he died from severe blows to the head.

No arrests had been made last night, but a number of people were being questioned by Metro homicide squad detectives at E1 Division, just yards away from the murder scene at 540 Dundas Street East, a three-storey apartment unit in the Regent Park complex.

The body was discovered by a resident on the north steps outside the building, where the victim had apparently crawled from an apartment.

Among those being questioned by police was a woman who rented an apartment where a party had been held the previous night.

It was Metro's 27th homicide of the year.

Another beating murder

Homicide detectives are trying to establish a motive in the vicious beating death of a 55-year-old Winchester Hotel resident early yesterday.

Police said Ernest Earl Keith, a long-time hotel resident, was found dead in a second-floor hallway about 3:30 a.m. by the hotel's manager. Police said a liquor bottle may have been used in the killing.

Police spokesmen have declined to officially connect Keith's death with the beating deaths of three other downtown residents who were murdered earlier this year within a mile of the oceme yesterday. All remain unsolved.

Raymond Pius Harte, 56, of no fixed address, was found dead in the basement of 320 Ontario Street on March 26.

Gladys Lynn, 69, of Ontario Street, was found half a block down her own street, beaten to death and raped on March 31.

Kenneth Carmichael, 60, of no fixed address, was beaten to death and dumped under the steps of a Jarvis Street house on May 23.

Keith is the 30th homicide victim of the year, up three from the total at the same time last year.

Toronto Sun, July 21st.

Beaten man bleeds to death

A Toronto man bled to death outside his hotel room early yesterday morning after being beaten on the head.

Police said the victim, Ernest Earl Keith, 55, was a laborer who lived at the Winchester Hotel on Parliament Street.

Police said a weapon was used, but they would not say what kind. There was no evidence of robbery, they said.

2 The Toronto Sun, Wednesday July 21, 1976 •

Mom of 4 shot dead

man telling them of the shooting.

Police officials said they are still trying to establish a motive.

A woman who lives across the street said the Markusch couple were extremely good neighbors and kept their property in beautiful condition.

She said Mrs. Markusch had been out earlier in the day cutting the lawn and appeared quite happy.

"We are all quite shocked," she said, "They were such a good family. I just can't understand it."

The Markusch family had lived in their Edenhurst Drive home for the last 18 years. They have four children.

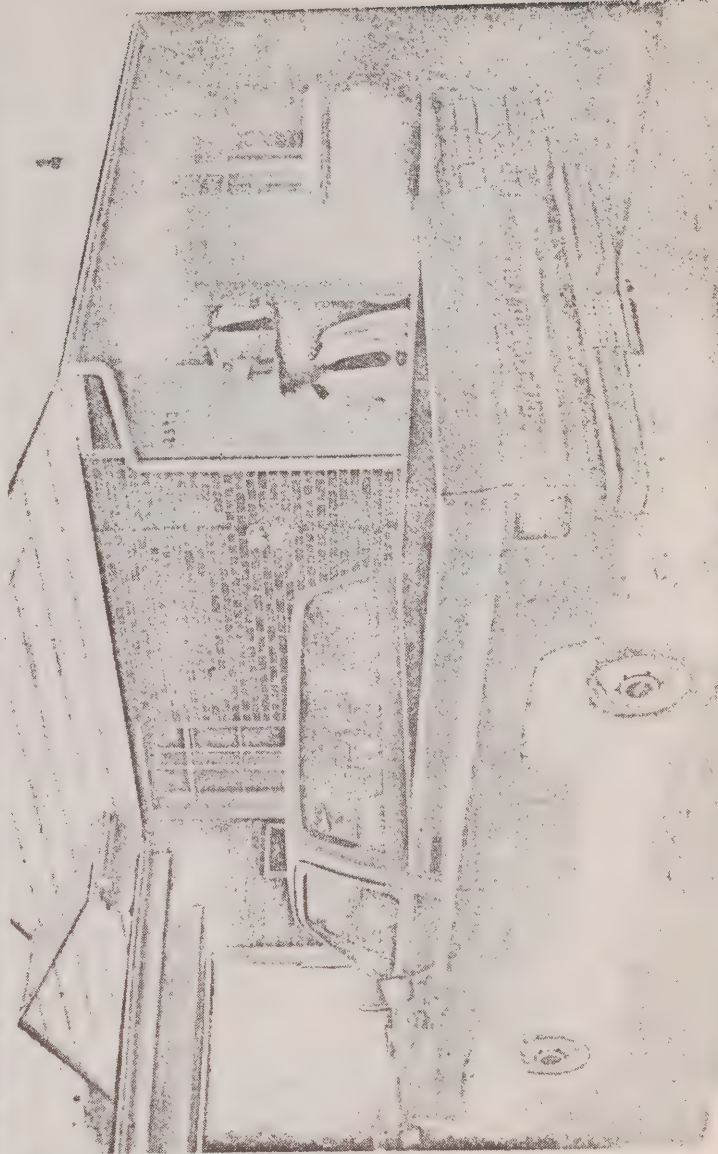
Police arrested a 47-year-old Mississauga man yesterday after finding the body of his wife in the basement of their home.

The victim, Maureen Markusch, 47, of Edenhurst Drive, died from a single gunshot wound in the upper chest.

A .308 rifle was found near the body.

Detective Sergeant James Wingate and Detective Noel Catney, who are heading the investigation, said John Markusch was being held in custody overnight.

Neighbors said they heard no commotion from the ranch-style home and didn't learn of the shooting until police arrived, after they received a phone call from a



PEEL POLICE leave Mississauga home where a mother of four children was found shot to death yesterday. The family's truck is in the way.

APPENDIX page 3.

day

2

UNITED, ONTARIO, MONTREAL, JANUARY 12, 1976

1976-01-12

FRANCIS JOSEPH SAVOY
Shot through the head

WILLIS GOWAN

By ALAN CRAIG
and TONY COTE
Staff Writers

A Metro police sharpshooter in a split-second gamble with death shot and killed an armed gunman as he attempted to use a hostage in an escape bid on a Scarboro street yesterday.

The two hour drama which started with the shooting and robbery of a cab driver, ended in the rnov of Benjamin Boulevard with the death of Francis Joseph Savoy, 25, a paroled convict.

He died instantly when struck by two shots fired by Insp. Dave Cowan who had crept up behind the getaway car blocked in by police vehicles.

Savoy's hostage, Warren Mitchell, 44, — a senior accountant who has worked for the City of Toronto for 26 years — had climbed from the car with a rifle held to his head by the gunman behind him. Insp. Cowan fired when the man momentarily lowered the sawed-off .22 calibre weapon.

The trail of events started at 7:15 yesterday morning when Savoy shot East End cabbie Albert Fagan, 32, in the face during a \$15 robbery behind an apartment building at Eglinton Avenue and Midland Avenue. Fagan staggered across Eglinton Avenue to a TTC bus whose driver

TURN TO PAGE 3

• Other stories and pictures on Pages 4, 5, 8, 20 and 29.

INSPECTION CROUCH behind car. Insp. Dave Cowan (background) creeps up behind hostage car. Drama started with shooting of a cab driver.

FRANCIS JOSEPH SAVOY is shot in the head by Cowan (right background) as he tries to flee with hostage after he was admitted to Scarboro house.

COWAN (centre) holds up revolver after shooting Savoy and freeing hostage Warren Mitchell, 44. Cabbie Albert Fagan is in satisfactory condition.

APPENDIX page 4.

TORONTO, Sunday Aug. 20, 1975
212 pages, 6 sections
Vol. 5, No. 50
July paid circulation 242,919
2nd Class Mail Reg. No. 5204

25¢
35¢ outside
a 40 mile radius
of City Hall.

Ulster women unite to end violence

—Story P. 5

*Peel team
swims lake,
Angela off
on third try*

P. 2

*Riders take
Eskimos
in 20-18
cliffhanger*

—P. 50

WITNESS TO MURDER



• A SOBBING WOMAN is led from the scene of a Brampton murder Friday night by Peel Regional police constable Ron Neer. The woman, whose identity was not revealed, witnessed the shooting death of

Murray Anthony Dunner, 22, of Main Street North, who was shot twice in the head when attempting to prevent a holdup of a high-stakes poker game. Details on P. 1. Sunday Sun photo.

RALLO MURDER:

Cops expect to find bodies, not people

Tor. Sun August 23rd.

BY MICHAEL CRAIG
Sun Writer

HAMILTON — Police believe the mother and brother of a five-year-old girl found murdered Wednesday are dead too.

"We're looking for bodies, not persons," said OPP Sgt. Mike Gula yesterday.

Sandra Rallo, 28, and her son, Jason, 6, have not been seen alive since Wednesday.

Jon C. Rallo, 33, Sandra's husband, was charged Thursday with the murder of his daughter, Stephanie, 5, whose nude body was found in a duffel bag in a creek near Jordan Harbor, 10 miles west of St. Catharines.

Police said they found the Rallo's Lantana Court house spattered with blood. Furniture had been overturned and there were signs of a struggle, a police source said.

An autopsy showed Stephanie had been smothered to death before she was stripped, wrapped in a garbage bag and duffel bag and thrown from the 20-Mile Creek bridge on the Queen Elizabeth Way.

Autopsy reports showed only minor bruises on her body, possibly caused when the corpse was dropped into the creek.

Police now fear the blood in the Rallo house may be Sandra's or her son's.

As police continued their search throughout the Niagara Peninsula for the missing people, neighbors in the quiet west end Hamilton subdivision where the Rallos moved four years ago, were shocked.

"They were a tremendously close family. We never heard anyone quarrel, and they always were nice to us. We were shocked when we learned what had happened," said Vince Aiello, who lives two doors from the Rallo house.

"All we can do now is hope Sandra is alive."

Aiello saw the Rallo family together last Sunday as Jon Rallo cut his front lawn.

The Rallos were described as regular church-goers, with Stephanie attending a church-operated junior school program.

"They were such good people. Stephanie would play with my Sophie every day. They were part of the family. We didn't ever see a police car on the street in four years until they came after the killing," Aiello said.

Roberta Vioi said she saw Mrs. Rallo on Monday as she visited a friend on Lantana Court.

"The bus was just coming for Stephanie and she came out with the girl," she said.

Other neighbors said police had ordered them not to discuss the Rallos with the press.

Rallo, a senior Hamilton civil servant and city office manager, was arrested by detectives Thursday at home after his father-in-law, Douglas Pollington, saw Stephanie's picture on television.

Police had circulated a mugshot picture of the girl and Pollington failed to say he had seen it, Sandra or her children, since Tuesday night.

Pollington, 70, of Cambridge, was described by friends as "friendly" by the killing.

OPP detectives searched a cottage near Cayuga frequently used by the family. Officers said few clues were found.

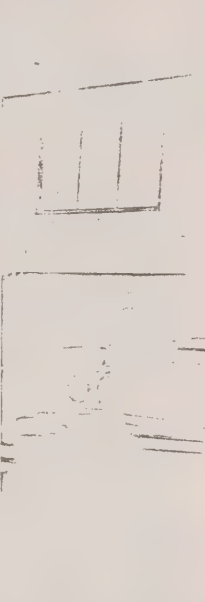
Police divers have searched the bottoms of three trucks and large sections of Lake Ontario at the river mouths, without finding anything connected to the case.

Meanwhile, police will continue today to interview Jon Rallo in his Hamilton jail cell.

STEFANIE RALLO

JON RALLO

GRISLY SCENE greeted Hamilton Wentworth police here, where murder suspect Jon Rallo was arrested after his daughter's nude body was recovered from a creek near St. Catharines. Police say the inside of the home where the Rallo family had lived for the past four years was blood-spattered,



GRISLY SCENE greeted Hamilton Wentworth police here, where murder suspect Jon Rallo was arrested after his daughter's nude body was recovered from a creek near St. Catharines. Police say the inside of the home where the Rallo family had lived for the past four years was blood-spattered,

furniture was overturned and there was every indication of a struggle. Rallo's wife Sandra and six-year-old son are missing, and police said yesterday they are "looking for bodies, not persons."



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'Wrong place at wrong time' for poker game slay of victim

Murray Durrer, 41, died with two other men at a rooming house in St. Catharines last night.

The victim, 35, was killed by a single bullet to the chest while playing a poker game.

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According to the superintendent, Durrer worked at Magtack on Kennedy Road South in Hamilton.

Durrer's girlfriend said she was planning to buy an antique shop and that she and Murray were looking for a place to open it.

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SUNflashes

Hoffa strangled: Magazine

New York Times Magazine has a private home near the Hudson and Manhattan rivers where he was killed July 3, 1963. Newsweek magazine says in the current issue.

The article, by John Edgar Hoover, says that the son of the slain mobster, Vincent, was found up Hoffa who was killed and then buried. It also contains evidence to suggest that the use of sex and drugs according to the story.

Roberts marries ex-nurse

Former Ontario premier John Roberts has married a former nurse, a woman who was a member of the Ontario Nurses' Association. The ceremony took place in a private home in New York City.

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Correction

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Boy dies after dive on Rouge River rocks

A 15-year-old Pickering boy died after diving from a 16-foot rock and striking his head on the rock six inches below the surface.

The boy's parents, Biale and Patricia Biale, were notified by Durham Region police detectives.

Toronto Star, September 23, 1976.

Only 3 days before she was killed murder victim spoke of 'nice man'

Continued from page 1

and in the quiet apartment building in the Yonge-Highway Ave. area.

"She talked a lot about having a nice man," Mrs. Devoe said. "Last Wednesday

she came and told me she had found one."

Miss McKenna was to have gone to a family wedding this Saturday and she had invited the man to go with her.

"I hope he doesn't let me down or I'll just die," she told her landlady last week.

On Saturday, Miss McKenna talked to Mrs. Devoe's husband, Charlie, and asked him to fix her window.

In the evening she was supposed to have gone to the Shaw Festival in Niagara-on-the-Lake with a woman friend but at the last minute she changed her mind.

Instead, police said, she and a girlfriend went to the Maple Leaf Ballroom and Miss McKenna was last seen alive dancing with a man there shortly after 10 p.m. Police would not name the girlfriend.

Police said the man was white, 29 or 30 years old, about 6 feet tall, dark haired and slender with a clear complexion.

"I don't know what happened to the nice man she told me she had met earlier," said Mrs. Devoe. "I just can't believe she met a man at the dance and brought him home to her

apartment. She just would not do that."

Last summer she had been friends with a man who was 10 years older but she confided to Mrs. Devoe that he was a "mamma's boy."

"Do you think I should give him a try anyway?" she asked Mrs. Devoe.

She was very excited last week because she had met with her, Mrs. Devoe said. The landlady offered to lend her her mink stole for the wedding too.

Miss McKenna was a very tidy woman who never left things out when she left her apartment, Mrs. Devoe said.

"I looked in her apartment after they found her on Monday," said Mrs. Devoe. "Her apron had been thrown across the chest of drawers and her knitting was on the coffee table. She had left the apartment on Saturday night in a hurry."

Sometimes early Sunday, Miss McKenna was stabbed 26 times and her throat was cut. Her body was found on Monday evening after the doctor she works for and a friend had come to find out why she hadn't gone to work.

"She lived here for a year and I have never, never known her to do that," Ruby Devoe said.

During the year Miss McKenna lived there, Mrs. Devoe became her closest

See ONLY, page A2

Chair Ave. W. on Saturday night. The question is why she went there.

According to her landlady, Miss McKenna was a quiet woman who kept to herself and never invited strange men into her apartment.

who stabbed her 26 times and cut her throat — into her driveway Ave. apartment, when her landlady says she never invited

strange men in. Miss McKenna was last seen alive, dancing with a man at the ballroom on Saturday.

Why she changed her plans at the last minute to go to the Shaw Festival at Niagara-on-the-Lake with a woman friend last Saturday and instead went alone to the Maple Leaf Ballroom.

Why she let the killer —

By DAVE NORRIS
Star staff writer
Hondale detectives were today puzzling over two elements of mystery in the murder of Mary McKenna, a 37-year-old Toronto General Hospital medical secretary.

4 The Toronto Sun, Monday, September 13, 1976

Our murders break pattern

By JOE FISHER
Staff Writer

Murder in Canada is a family affair, according to a spanking new study yet to be published by Statistics Canada. It shows that in almost half of 4,140 solved homicides between 1961 and 1974 killer and victim were related.

And yet — if Toronto's experience this year has any national significance — the study, undertaken by University of Toronto professor Norman Bell, is already out-of-date.

"The statisticians and lawmakers are giving the public the wrong image," declared Det. Sgt. Ronald Prior of the Metro Police homicide squad. "Domestic murders were predominant — until this year.

"This year we've had less murders in the home and more violent types of murders by strangers. By the end of the year we might see a total about-turn."

Of 36 Metro murders so far this year, only 10 were family affairs. Last year, 24 out of a total of 48 were domestic, coaxing Prof. Bell to cite Toronto as exemplifying the family murder syndrome as well as anywhere in the country.

Now he says he has an "open mind" about a possible swing, saying he wants a lot more evidence before considering a change of stance.

Bell, whose study showed that only 13 per cent of Canadian victims were killed by strangers, maintains that domestic murders have claimed a consistent 45 per cent of the national murder toll for 14 years (lovers' quarrels and love triangles boost the figure to 55 per cent). Understandably, he's skeptical of any swing away from such a time-worn norm.

He says his study shows that "the family is a violent institution that's not always a haven of support" and he hopes that it will offer new insights into the family as a potential hotbed of hostility.

Bell's brief — which will be published late this year or early next — reveals:

- Males are the more murderous half of the species, but children are more often murder victims of a mother than a father.
- The average Canadian murder victim is in the mid-thirties.
- Shooting is the most common method of killing, especially in Ontario and the Maritimes.
- Of the solved murders under review, 11.5 per cent were followed by a suicide.

Tavern killing

By CAL MILLAR
Staff Writer

Metro police have issued a murder warrant for a Detroit area man after a Toronto laborer was shot to death outside a downtown tavern yesterday.

Alfredo Gualtieri, 43, of Riverdale Avenue collapsed on the sidewalk outside the House of Lancaster Tavern on Wellington Street near University Avenue when a gunman fired a volley of shots. Police said he was trying to prevent a fight among a group of men at the time.

Named in the warrant is Darrell Everitt Crosby, 21. A second warrant, naming Duane Bruce, 23, also of the Detroit area, as a material witness, was also issued.

Witnesses told police Gualtieri, father of two

young children, tried to separate people who were involved in an argument inside the tavern, but the fight spilled onto the street.

Seconds later someone pulled out a revolver and fired a number of shots.

Homicide investigators Ronald Prior and George McGivern said there were many witnesses to the incident, and police have a good description of the killer.

McGivern said they've also recovered a weapon believed used in the murder.

Gualtieri's wife, Martha, said her husband, an employee of Greenspoon Brothers, a Toronto demolition firm, never frequented downtown taverns. She said he spent all

his spare time at home with the children.

However, he received a telephone call from a friend and agreed to meet him at Wellington Street and University Avenue.

"I don't even know who called," she said. "He just went out and the next thing I know he's dead."

She said the only thing the police told her was "that he was trying to stop some colored guy from fighting."

Mrs. Gualtieri described her husband as a terrific person who had lots of friends.

She said he'd been working on a demolition project in Midland and only got home on weekends. "We spent Friday night together and had just arrived home from shopping Saturday when he got the phone call."

Metro Police Report

Seven break-ins and two store robberies topped the crime news in Metro during a 24-hour period ending at 6 a.m. yesterday.

Giorigio Mammoletti reported thieves stole \$1,600 worth of cash and jewellery after entering his Lexfield Avenue home.

A man entered Eddie's Confectionery on Queen Street East and after asking for cigarettes, demanded money from the cash register. Owner Hakhyun Lee refused and the unarmed bandit fled empty-handed.

Silverware and china worth \$1,000 were stolen from a Shorncliffe Avenue home.

Harry Mattai, owner of the Thomas Variety Store, at 3577 Lakeshore Blvd. W., handed over cash after two men held up the store.

Dalmay's in the Sherway Gardens shopping centre lost \$35,000 worth of fur coats to burglars who made off with 35 coats after forcing open a front door.

The Bank of Nova Scotia at 1423 Yonge St. lost a calculator, and four typewriters to thieves who broke a window to get into the bank.

More than \$3,300 worth of stereo and video tape equipment was stolen from the Young Drivers of Canada office in Scarborough.

Jewelry worth \$6,100 was

taken from a Prince Charles Drive home, owner Norman Ross told police. The front door was forced open.

Thieves forced open the front door of a Wilson Avenue apartment to steal a color television, a radio, a stereo set, and jewelry worth a total of \$1,000.

A 37-year-old Ontario Street woman was charged with wounding after a 44-year-old Berkeley Street man was stabbed in the back.

A 20-year-old man and two youths, aged 17 and 16, all of Dovercourt Road and a 21-year-old Richview Road man were charged with conspiracy to commit theft, and theft over \$200 after an employee arranged a \$1,400 theft from a Dufferin Street store. The Richview Road man was also charged with public mischief.

A 20-year-old Golden Orchard Drive woman was charged with fraud, theft and possession of property ob-

tained by crime after a credit card stolen from a woman at a tavern was used to buy goods at a store.

Three Brampton residents, a 21-year-old Sophia Street man, a 17-year-old Guest Street youth and a 27-year-old Dixon Road man were charged with conspiracy to traffic in narcotics and possession of narcotics after police seized PCP worth \$11,200.

An 18-year-old Olive Avenue man and a 16-year-old Willesden Road youth were charged with robbery after a 28-year-old man and a 15-year-old boy were accosted on the street and their money taken.

A 50-year-old McCowan Road man was charged with gross indecency after a 15-year-old boy was sexually attacked in a McCowan Road apartment.

A 16-year-old Grant Street youth was charged with robbery after a 4-year-old man was robbed of \$2.20 after being severely beaten after leaving Broadview Avenue tavern. The victim received a broken jaw.

A 21-year-old 16th Street man was charged with dangerous driving after an assault causing bodily harm after policeman was cut fighting with motorist who had been driving erratically on Lakeshore Boulevard West.

A 28-year-old Lakeshore Boulevard West man was charged with parole violation after police executed a warrant for his arrest.

A 26-year-old man of no fixed address was charged with smashing the front window of Hampden Mens Shop on Bloor Street West after stealing nine leather coats.

A 44-year-old man in custody of the Rideau Correctional Centre was charged with defrauding United Trust in Toronto of \$692 through a cheque swindle. The man was originally charged with the fraud because he was to have been deported.

A 24-year-old Lawton Boulevard man was charged with fraud, theft and possession of stolen property after police found the engine in his car was stolen, and then traced a previously owned by the suspect and discovered too was stolen. The car had been stolen and given the licence plates of previously demolished car.

A 16-year-old Livingston Road man was charged with stealing \$100 from friend's business and causing \$1 damage to his store. She is charged with taking his car keys and stealing his car.

THE TORONTO STAR, Mon., September 13, 1976 C27

Fewer Metro killings now 'family affairs'

Although a study shows murder in Canada "is a family affair," Metro's 1974 statistics show a decline.

Professor Patricia Bell of the University of Toronto, who studied 4,149 solved Canadian homicides from 1961 to 1974 for Statistics Canada, for 1.4 per cent were committed by a relative.

But Detective Sergeant Donald Prior of the Metro homicide squad said today statistics show that only 19 of this year's 86 slayings were domestic affairs, compared with 21 of 43 in 1975.

"We're getting a lot of violent types of crime," he said.

"The law enforcement is coming out with a lot of statistics," Prior said. "But the statistics are changing."

The high percentage of all in-the-family murders mirrors "a lot of different images from that period," in the '60s," said Bell, who is professor of sociology at the university.

Bell's findings, which influenced the revision of Parliament abolishing capital punishment.

"If capital punishment were to be enforced on a half of the condemned would be related to those murdered," he said.

HOBBY OF HOSTILITY

Bell said his study, which examined 4,149 solved murders — 85 per cent of a total of 4,658 in Canada in the 14-year period — revealed the family as a potential hotbed of hostility.

His figures did not cover 1975 and 1976.

As a result of previous studies of child abuse, Bell believes there is some level of violence in about half of all Canadian families, either against children or the other spouse.

Bell said by international standard, Canada is not a murdering nation. "In 1969, Canada was 36th of 61 nations from which data were available to the United Nations.

"The reported rates ranged from a high of 51 per 100,000 population for Columbia to a low of 0.2 for rate of 1.4 among the low-rate nations.

The UN figures were compiled before serious

fighting in Ireland erupted into waves of killings.

Bell said that the 1974 murder rate in Canada was 2.3 per 100,000 population. "But the status of Canada as a low-murder rate country has probably not changed."

When it comes to violent social issues, Bell's study is a minor problem, statistically. Between 1961 and 1974, there were six times more deaths by suicide, almost 70 times more in car accidents and 130 times more from cancer.

VIOLENT MURDERS

Canadian murderers, whose average age is 35, the mid-30s, have been as young as six years old and are predominantly male. Bell believes this results from the male being subjected early to sexual conquests. "He's encouraged to play violent sports like hockey and football. He's given guns as toys to be treasured."

An exception to the male pattern is in the slaying of children and in some families where the mother, usually, is the killer.

"Married mothers are murder suspects (where children are the victims) taken an often as their husbands," Bell said.

In 268 cases where parents were suspected of killing their children, 143 (64 per cent) were mothers, and 78 (35.5 per cent) were fathers, the study found.

"When the suspect is a child, the parent who is the victim is twice as often the father as the mother. In common law relationships, the victim is a partner in over 90 per cent of the cases, and is female in over three-quarters of these cases."

Bell said Caucasians account for 78.6 per cent of all murder suspects. The only other sizeable group in his findings are Canadian Indians, who account for 19 per cent of domestic murders.

As for murder victims, 77.8 per cent are Caucasian, followed by Canadian Indians at 14 per cent.

Bell said that in the 1961-74 period, alcohol was a factor in 41.3 per cent of

domestic murders, while drugs were involved in only 1.8 per cent of the incident.

Of the 4,129 solved murders, 1,234 were committed in Ontario, 1,071 in Quebec, 611 on the Prairies, 690 in British Columbia, 249 in the Maritimes and 58 in the Canadian north.

Bell found the style of murder changed with geography. Shootings, the commonest method in the Maritimes and Ontario, while beating, strangling and strangling, is more common in the North, the Prairies and Quebec, as well as in common law unions.

Of the solved murders studied, 31.5 per cent were followed by suicide. "Over the country as a whole, 477 murder-suicide combinations occurred."

Bell said that murder, while infrequent in Canada, is a recurrent stable social phenomenon.

"Each year in Canada, six persons per million population are suspected of committing murder within a family setting, and this rate changes by more than 1 per million only once in the 14 years for which the data are available."

"Few other statistics about social life in Canada would show such stability."

Bell said this is surprising, given the fact there were significant changes in Canadian society in the 14-year period — changes in income, the labour market, health and welfare programs and in the size and diversity of the population.

"One would have expected that during this period there would be variation in the stresses experienced by some segment of the population and consequent variation in rate of domestic murders. Such is not the case."

But more policing "certainly doesn't make any difference to the domestic murder rate," Bell said. "These are crimes of passion."

With individuals from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and common-law marriages leading the increasing murder rate victims to measure on

today's family. Inflation, the struggle to survive, fall are to reach idealized expectations, fewer outlets for frustration and more alternatives to marriage



HOSTAGE DRAMA — Man who tried to take a 14-year-old boy hostage is carried away after a police tactical unit overpowered him. —alan craig, sun

Cops free boy hostage from mental patient

A Metro police tactical squad rescued a 14-year-old boy held hostage by a mental patient yesterday afternoon in North York.

Todd Bedwell, of 5 Brahm's Avenue, endured more than an hour of death threats and terror in a 10th-floor apartment before police broke open the apartment door and freed him.

An out-patient under psychiatric care was arrested after a brief struggle. He had

threatened to shoot, blow up, or throw the boy from the balcony if police tried to rescue him.

The drama began about 2:30 p.m. when a man began to suffer convulsions in the Bedwell apartment near Don Mills Road and Leslie Street. Todd called an ambulance, and the ambulance dispatcher asked police to assist.

When police arrived, the man went berserk, Todd said.

He frightened Todd's mother, Sharon, 31, and brother, Chris, 13, from the apartment and emerged waving a .45 calibre pistol which police later learned was a harmless replica.

"He was throwing beer bottles all over the place," Chris said. One bottle narrowly missed a North York policeman, and exploded, causing police to believe they had been shot at.

Police smash through door free hostage

By ARNIE HAKALA
Star staff writer

Police used a sledgehammer to smash a North York apartment door and capture a 26-year-old Viet Nam veteran who went berserk and held a youth hostage for two hours yesterday.

Metro Police Inspector Harold Atkinson said the unarmed man "put up a bit of a skirmish" before officers handcuffed him and took him to hospital where he will be placed under psychiatric care. No charges were laid.

"The man had gone berserk," Atkinson said. "He was throwing beer bottles and furniture around. The apartment is a mess."

Neither the man, the hostage, Todd Bedwell, 14, or Todd's mother, Sharon Bedwell, 31, were injured. The three were in the apartment

on Brahm's Ave., near Finch Ave. and Don Mills Rd. for more than three hours while 30 police officers, including the Emergency Task Force team, surrounded the 14-storey Ontario Housing Corp. building.

Todd Bedwell told reporters that the man, who lived in the same apartment as the Bedwells, threatened to kill him and to jump off the 10th-floor balcony.

The incident started after an ambulance was called to the apartment to treat a man who was having convulsions.

Police said alcohol and pills played a part in the incident. The man was being treated for mental illness as an out-patient at a Toronto hospital.

Atkinson said police broke in after they learned the man was not armed.

Atkinson said the man made no demands.

After being captured the man was strapped into a stretcher and whisked away by ambulance as a crowd of about 400 watched.

8 The Toronto Sun, Monday April 5, 1976

One veteran driver who knows the TTC is not as safe now

This city has had so much violence, the temptation is not to talk about it when it does occur.

That way, the crowd-fueled motion goes there is a good chance the situation will remain the same, and we can look forward to seeing young TTC drivers beating old people up the steps of any cross-town bus, and Toronto riders maintaining the remove-and-replace manner for which they are famous.

But if you are a driver for this system, like Don Thomas who's been in the force 12 years, that myth is being eroded. It is not just the well-publicized instances of brutality that are weakening it; it is also the daily perception by many TTC employees like Thomas that in recent years that pattern is now being exemplified in an avalanche of

He is aware, as are many drivers, that exacerbating the violence situation is not all that functional. And he knows, too, that the majority of TTC riders, young and old, still hold on to the old, mammoth image of the city's mass transit system. He has employed, nonetheless, he is firm about something: There are a hell of a lot more incidents now, especially with the lowering of the drinking age. A lot of the kids just don't know how to handle buses.

"You gotta tend in my job. You gotta have a sense of humor. You gotta sit there and take a lot of bullshit. Some guys must have ulcers the size of footballs. I say never aren't as good as they need to be. I'm on my own. A few years ago, I'd have never needed that. From this thing, my wife was all worried to hell. She said it's getting to be like police work."

And if you tried to take care of everything you see or hear on a bus, well, you'd go nuts. "And then I run up against this fight."

But if Don Thomas has no notion of quitting the job he still loves, his eyes can still glow with some delight when he remembers driving a little while ago on the North York line. The myth that once is the best system. "I told my wife I just didn't know what I had been missing," he laughs. "Too damn good to be so damn nice, so partial."

police officers who had decided to quit the force before retirement age. Because he could no longer stand the pervasive atmosphere of the court system these days.

"I can sympathize with that guy," Thomas said. The incident Thomas was involved in was actually a "service" one. He did not kill. He had warned some young men to stop smoking and when, finally, he went to tell them the game was over, that they had to leave, men from "the back."

Thomas speaks his mind in a calm, matter-of-fact voice. "I can sympathize with that guy," Thomas said. The incident Thomas was involved in was actually a "service" one. He did not kill. He had warned some young men to stop smoking and when, finally, he went to tell them the game was over, that they had to leave, men from "the back."

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Her throat was slit inside ambulance

By TONY COTE
Staff Writer

A Metro ambulance attendant fought off a razor-wielding man with one hand and applied emergency first aid to a woman with the other yesterday, after a murder attempt in the ambulance during what started as a routine accident run to hospital.

The woman's throat was slit "ear to ear" and she is in serious condition today in hospital.

Bruce Newton, the 23-year-old ambulance attendant, said he and his partner, Pat Filippelli, received a call to pick up what they believed were a man and woman on Yonge Street hurt in a bicycle accident. A block from Toronto General Hospital, he said,

the man pulled out a straight razor and attacked the woman.

"He was talking to her, telling her how he loved her, when all of a sudden he pulled the razor from his pocket," the three-year veteran said.

"She was semi-sitting on the stretcher, he leaned forward and slit her — practically ear-to-ear."

Newton said the whole thing took less than a second. "I didn't have time to blink."

After the attack Newton knocked the razor from the man's hand, threw it in the front of the ambulance and started to apply first aid to the woman.

"I held him back with my hand and grabbed a dressing for her throat with the other.

At one point I had to hold him back with my foot."

According to driver Filippelli they were diverted to the original call from a transfer run which was going to the Humber Memorial Hospital from St. Michael's Hospital. Their normal area is Etobicoke.

The woman, identified as Patricia McLean, 19, of Farnham Avenue, is in serious condition at hospital with the slit throat and a slash on her right arm.

Although the ambulance men thought they were picking up victims from an accident police later said a domestic argument had taken place in the woman's apartment and that it had spilled out onto Yonge Street.

The man described as a former boyfriend, had a bad cut on his left arm apparently inflicted during the argument in the apartment.

Under police guard at hospital and charged with attempted murder, wounding and possession of a dangerous weapon is John Dick Hunter, 45, of the House of Concorde. He had to undergo surgery for the slash to his arm.

Sgt. Bob Jussila, one of the investigating officers, said he will be recommending Newton for a citation. "He did a hell of a job."

But the last word has to go to Newton when he said "Picking them up after its been done is one thing, but seeing it happen in front of you is another."

If you ride subway, here are a few tips

By DAVID KENDALL
Staff Writer

If you're a nervous Nellie at night and lonely subway rides scare you, TTC officials recommend riding in the front car and screaming like a train on the Union Station curve if things do happen to get nasty.

According to TTC Chairman Gordon Hurlburt, "violence in the subways is an absolute non-issue." He says you can "ride in complete confidence" any time of day.

That's generally true. Your chances of getting mugged or raped on the TTC system are less than the odds you'll pull off the million dollar grand heist in the Olympic Lottery.

But that off-chance comes up a good deal more often if you ride the TTC regularly, like a lot of its million-plus daily passengers.

So here are a handful of hints from police and TTC officials to make your subway trip a mite safer: Try to wait on platforms in the better-lit and crowded areas.

- Aim to get on the driver's car. If that's awkward, get on a crowded car. And if all the cars are like the proverbial Mother Hubbard's cupboard, get on the one the conductor is riding — the third or second car from the rear.

- When leaving the subway, if you are followed, go knock on the door of the nearest lighted house. Or slip into a restaurant.

- If you park in a commuter lot, check for strangers in your car's back seat before getting in.

- Don't go armed. Bad guys have a bad habit of snatching weapons and turning them on their victims. And armed innocents too often panic and turn their weapons on the wrong people.

- A rape whistle is good, but carry it in your hand, not around the neck where it's handy for the strangling type of pervert.

- If some runder does try to do a number on you, yank

the red emergency stop lever hanging from the ceiling of every subway car. But don't by the hair of your chinny-chin-chin do it until you reach a station. Or the train will stop between stations, and that can be a dark and lonely place.

- In the final analysis, says a police spokesman: "A woman's best weapon is her scream."

'No foul play in drowning'

An autopsy has failed to discover any evidence of foul play in the drowning early yesterday of a man who on Tuesday told police he would personally take care of the men who had beaten him up.

The body of 35-year-old Paul Sheridan of Raglan Avenue was found floating at the south end of Grenadier Pond in High Park near Howard Road.

Inspector George Sellar of Metro homicide said police

are awaiting the return of a blood analysis to determine whether the man had been drinking.

Police said Sheridan was attacked by a group of men Tuesday and was treated at St. Joseph's Hospital for facial injuries.

At that time Sheridan refused to name his assailants, telling police he would look after them himself.

The Toronto Sun, Wednesday June 9, 1976 3

Slain girl's mom begs for tighter subway security

By CATHERINE DUNPHY
Staff Writer

The tearful mother of a girl slain in the subway last year begged yesterday for more security on Toronto's subways.

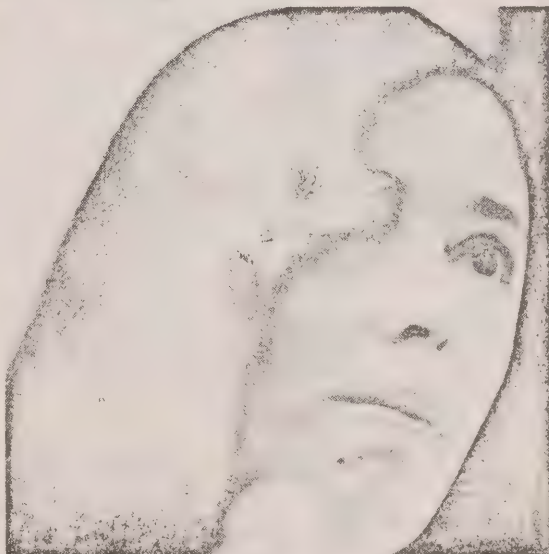
"Don't show me mirrors," a shaking Merle Peters told Toronto Transit Commission board members, "I want something more for my daughter's life. I want closed circuit television."

Miriam Peters, 16, was stabbed to death last November on the platform of the St. Patrick subway station on the University line. Her killer has never been found.

"Do you know how hard it is for me to go down to the subway?" Mrs. Peters asked. "You can never understand."

The TTC board adopted a report calling for \$302,000 in security equipment for all surface and subway vehicles but rejected the proposal for closed circuit television as being too costly, requiring between 50 and 160 more employees, and being incapable of monitoring all areas of a subway station.

TTC general manager Michael Warren told the



MERLE PETERS, whose daughter was stabbed to death on the subway.

distraught mother that increased subway surveillance by police would be a more effective and "a more affordable response."

"I don't want another Miriam on the subway," she pleaded. "More policemen mean nothing."

She had not been told of the decision to eliminate the

option of closed circuit television by the joint committee of the TTC and Metro police studying security until she read it in the newspapers, she said.

Neither she nor her husband, Max, were invited to view the new security equipment installed in a test subway car and the object of

a press tour that morning.

But she had read the report and wondered what assurance it contained that children will be safe on less travelled routes.

Metro Chairman and TTC commissioner Paul Godfrey told the couple the report was not the "total answer" to security.

"I realize what you're looking for you're not getting," he said. "But I don't know how to deliver what you want."

He promised to make the subways of Toronto as safe as its streets.

But Max Peters charged that the TTC was "throwing out money" by across the board security.

"We only want the television for certain stations for certain times in the day and the evening," he said.

Mrs. Peters said she had a petition of 9,000 names supporting her efforts for safer subways and would not give up her fight for closed circuit television until her "last breath."

"I have two more children at home," she said. "What will I say when they want to ride on the subway down town?"

Woman knifed 26 times man choked with towel

A man and a woman were found slain in separate Metro homicides yesterday.

Police identified the victims as James Stewart Kennedy, 49, of Jarvis St., and Mary Frances McKenna, 37, of Broadway Ave. Homicide officers said

they have been unable so far to find a motive in either killing.

Miss McKenna, who had been stabbed 26 times and had her throat cut, was found in the bedroom of her ground-floor apartment after an aunt became worried about her and asked police to check her home.

A native of Manitoba, he joined the revenue department in 1969 and a fellow worker described him as a "nice guy" who was friendly but quiet.

The murders were the 38th and 39th in Metro this year compared with the same number at this time last year.

Civil servant found beaten and strangled

The strangled, beaten and nude body of a 49-year-old "loner" was found in an unlocked Jarvis Street apartment yesterday.

James Stewart Kennedy lived by himself for the past two years in the small sixth-floor apartment. The building superintendent found the body after another tenant complained that Kennedy's door had been open since Sunday.

"When I found him he had a towel around his neck and

his face was all bashed in," John Fretz, the superintendent said.

Kennedy, a bachelor, worked as a supervisor in the storage unit of the department of national revenue on Adelaide Street West.

His boss, Jim Penney, described him as "very quiet,

"He's also very reliable, that's why I wondered why he hadn't phoned in this morning."

Another worker at the office, who knew the dead man since Kennedy joined the department in 1969, said he was "a nice guy, I don't know why anyone would want to murder him. We were all friends."

Kennedy came to Toronto from Manitoba 10 years ago and according to police the last time he was seen alive was Saturday.

An autopsy, performed yesterday, showed the cause of death was strangulation and he had been beaten before he died.

It was the 38th murder of the year in Metro.

A secretary to a doctor at Toronto Western Hospital, Miss McKenna was last seen alive at her apartment on Saturday. Ruby Devoe, the wife of the apartment building superintendent, told police the woman attended a dance Saturday night.

An autopsy is to be conducted today to determine whether the woman was sexually assaulted.

Kennedy, who police said worked at the Department of National Revenue on Adelaide St., was found strangled and beaten in his unlocked apartment after he failed to report for work.

Police said a towel was knotted around the victim's neck and his face had been badly beaten.

Kennedy, a bachelor, was last seen alive on Saturday.

Metro wife on murder charge

(B) Sun Oct 4
A 26-year-old Sherbourne Street woman has been charged with murder in connection with the stabbing death of her husband.

Metro Police said Donna Marie Lawlor was charged with second-degree murder

after her husband, Albert Patrick Lawlor, 28, was stabbed near the head during a domestic dispute about 11:30 p.m. Thursday.

He was taken to Wellingborough Hospital and pronounced dead on arrival.

72 PAGES

TORONTO, ONTARIO, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1976

134,283

Aug 5's paid circulation

THE TORONTO SUN
23 YEARS LATER

Rock fans storm Varsity Stadium: Pages 32-33

MURDER VICTIM FINDS LOVE WITH A FRIEND

By TONY COTE
Staff Writer

Mary McKenna, Metro's latest murder victim, was last seen talking to a man she met at the Maple Leaf Ballroom on St. Clair Avenue West Sunday.

Homicide detectives said yesterday she went to the dance hall with a girlfriend about 12 p.m., met a man, and apparently left with him.

Police are asking anyone who may have seen her to contact them.

The 37-year-old woman's mutilated body was found partially clothed by police in the basement apartment she rented on Brounway Avenue. An agent had last seen her check when she had been from her for several days.

An autopsy, performed yesterday, revealed she died from multiple stab wounds over most of her upper body. Some of the wounds came after death. There was no indication she had been sexually attacked.

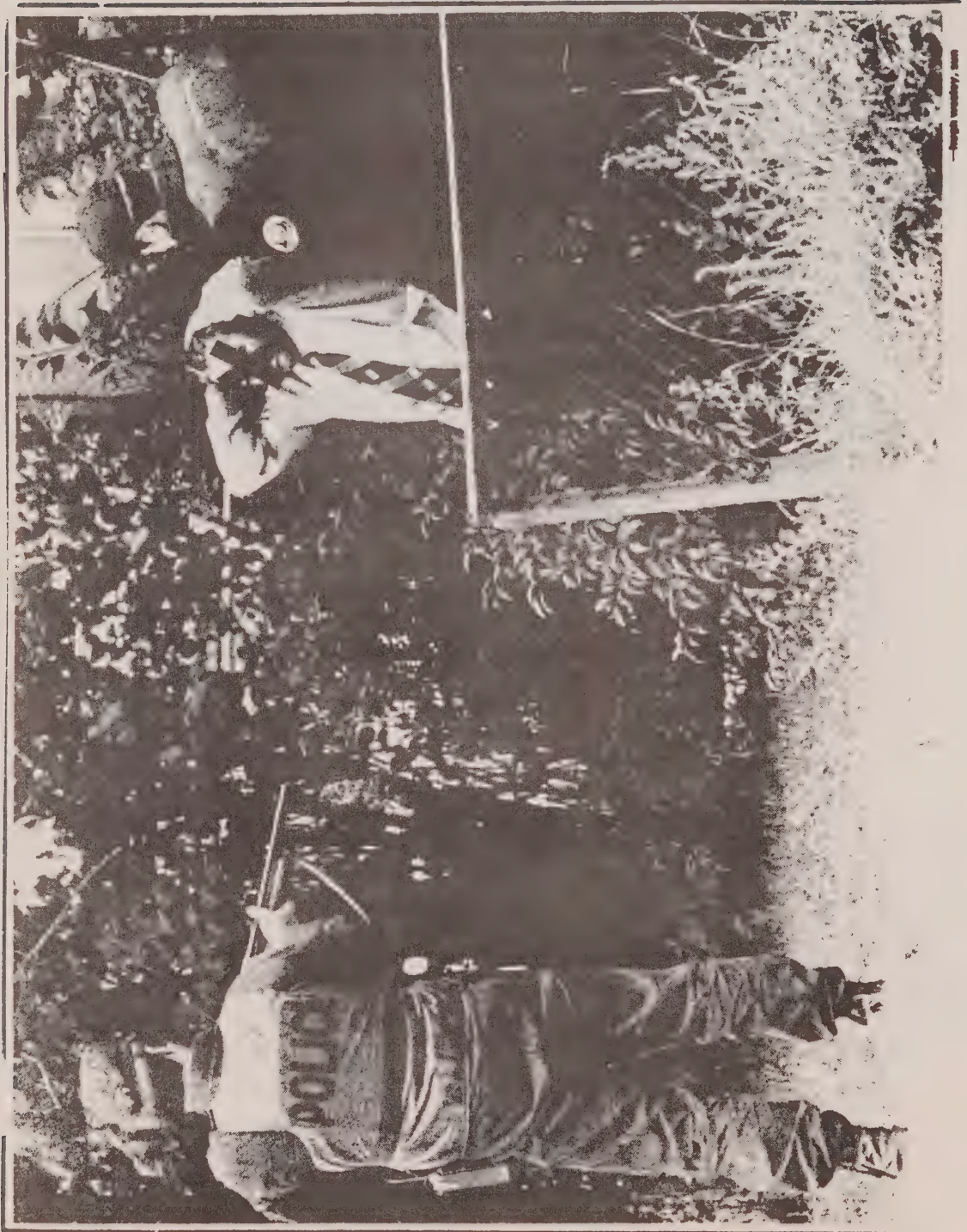
Inspector George Bellar, of the homicide squad, said the woman had been planned to go to the Festival at Niagara-on-the-Lake but changed her mind. He said she wasn't married, worked as a secretary at the General Hospital, and lived alone.

MARY McKENNA

Insp. Charles Maywood
He ordered doors opened



Toronto Sun, page 1, 23 September 1976



100

In the presence of Craig's words was not lost on the three policemen. They shoved Bette, then, onto the ground and took her into the back of the building. Craig was left alone on the roof with the body of the man he had just killed.

About twenty feet through his fall he hit a greenhouse, bounced off its roof and fell the remaining ten feet to the ground. Despite breaking his neck, his arm, and a leg in his chest, he was still able to curse at the police when they came to his aid. He expressed the opinion that he was sorry he hadn't killed them all.

The two prisoners reached the top of the hill and saw a long line of buildings. They went to the first one and found a door which was locked. The man who had been asked to open the door for them was forced to go back to the prison where he lived. The man who had been asked to open the door for them was forced to go back to the prison where he lived. The man who had been asked to open the door for them was forced to go back to the prison where he lived.

only a few weeks over an hour to find out if he is guilty of murder. Because he was only sixteen years old, Craig was sentenced to be "detained at their Majesty's pleasure"; the only sentence applicable to a child at that time and the equivalent of our "indefinite sentence" which was subject to death.

On the morning of Jan. 26, 1955, at 9 a.m., Derek Bentley was put to death by hanging. His last words on the scaffold were, "I didn't tell Chris to shoot that policeman."

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A 6 THE TORONTO STAR, Mon., June 14, 1976

Victim recalls terror as rapist gets 4 years

By CAROLA VYHNAR
Star staff writer

Her police officer husband warned her to expect to be raped at least once in her life.

Her mother took great pains to educate her on the subject as a child, having been raped herself, although she kept it a secret until after her daughter was raped.

And the 22-year-old Toronto woman took judo lessons "in case anything ever happened."

But, in spite of all the preparations and forewarnings, Jane (not her real name) still believed "it can't happen to me."

She was raped six months ago in the parking lot of her apartment building.

"It can happen to anyone," she said as she related her experience in an interview with The Star.

"It's not the glamorous woman who gets raped, it's the ordinary person on the street."

Jane's ordeal, technically, is over now. Her attacker was sentenced Friday to four years in penitentiary.

But now she is faced with the challenge of living with the nightmare.

'Rest of my life'

"It will affect me for the rest of my life but I will have at least gained some knowledge from it."

She said the experience has left her "very cautious."

Jane's attack occurred last December in late evening when a 29-year-old man fell over her from the subway to her apartment building.

"I knew he was following me but at the time I didn't feel threatened. And when I reached the parking lot I felt safe, thinking nothing would happen when I was so close to home."

That's where the rape took place. It caught her so much by surprise that she didn't have time for "any fancy

2 The Toronto Sun, Monday June 14, 1976

A LIFE

Frederick Gerrard Wilson, 29, was sentenced to four years for rape last week. Today his victim tries to outline the trauma caused by such an attack in the hope that it will encourage other women similarly assaulted to contact police.

By JAN LOUNDER
Staff Writer

On December 3 at about 11 p.m., Pat was attacked, forced to the snow covered ground between two parked cars and raped — less than a stone's throw from her front door.

Even now, six months later and two days after her attacker was sentenced to four years in prison for the crime, the tall, attractive 22-year-old's eyes are misty and her voice quivers as she recalls what happened.

She tells of the trauma, both physical and mental, she's suffered — the strain on her one-year-old marriage, her husband's guilt feelings and suicide attempt after the attack, the suspension from her job after the trial, and — the fear she has of walking down her own street.

"I always have to walk past that place. I was terrified to go outside by myself. It was an effort for me to leave my apartment."

Pat says her attacker followed her from the Broadview subway station as she returned from a visit with a job supervisor. The man grabbed her by the arm and throat and forced her to the ground in a parking lot she says.

Her screams and cries for help went unheeded. The three men who walked past during the rape only laughed and walked away and a woman in a car drove off without summoning help.

"The people in my own apartment building must have heard me screaming — but no one came to help me," she says.

Only after her assailant got up and sped down the street past a bewildered woman, did that same woman come to her aid says Pat.

TORONTO STAR
AUGUST 4TH.

Woman raped in Etobicoke man charged

An Etobicoke man was arrested yesterday after a 24-year-old woman said she was forced to commit an indecent act and then was raped in a park.

The victim told police a man, whom she knew, offered to drive her home from a tavern on Queen St. W., near Duferin St., but instead drove her to a park on Lake Shore Blvd. W. near Park Lawn Rd. in Etobicoke.

She said before the attack she was told to get out of the car and to take off her clothes.

Douglas Michael Hunka, 26, of Superior Ave., was charged with rape.

Driver 10:30 JUL 12

Metro Police are searching for a man who raped a 12-year-old girl after she accepted a ride from him at the Broadview subway station Thursday.

The girl told police she was picked up about 7:30 p.m. and driven to a house in an unknown area.

Inside, she was taken to a bedroom on the second floor, raped and then taken back to the car. Her attacker released her at Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street about 10 p.m.

APPENDIX PAGE # 21.& PAGE #22. Two different front pages, one concerned with the victim and the other with the accused.

Star October 25

FIVE MINUTES OF TERROR: Five-year-old Emmanuel Perreira is comforted by his mother, Antonia, in their home after he was stabbed in back yesterday

by a young woman while he was on his way home from school with his sister, Graciela (rear), 9. He was held for five minutes with a knife at his throat until freed.

Boy knifed as police close in

Metro police, with guns drawn, pounced on a woman yesterday moments after she plunged a knife into the back of a 5-year-old boy she had abducted.

For five minutes, Emmanuel Perreira of Lansdowne Ave. stood in terror as his abductor held a knife to his throat while police tried to talk her out of killing him.

When the ordeal was over

he was taken to the Hospital for Sick Children, where he was treated for a knife wound.

It began when Emmanuel and his sister, Graciela, 9, stopped to drink at a water fountain on the way home from school.

The sister said a young woman with a knife came and pulled Emmanuel away. "She put the knife to his throat."

Graciela begged the woman to let her brother go as she dragged him through

an alley behind Lansdowne Ave. towards Bloor St. W.

"I told two of my friends to run to my house and call the police," Graciela said.

"And then I followed the woman. She kept banging Emmanuel's head against fences as she dragged him away."

Police who swarmed into the area surrounded the woman and Emmanuel in a parking lot on Bloor St. W. at St. Helen's Ave.

When police closed in, the woman grabbed Emmanuel

by the hair with one hand and screamed that she would kill him with the knife she held to his throat with the other hand.

Police, who had already drawn their guns, backed off and tried to talk her into dropping the knife.

Then one policeman lifted his foot. She raised the knife and plunged it into Emmanuel's back.

Police have charged Jionette Levesque, 19, of no fixed address, with attempted murder.

—Star Photo

Two men appeared in court yesterday charged with first degree murder after a 5-months police investigation into the beating death of 71-year-old John Potter who lived in a one-room cabin on Lakeshore Road in Port Credit for more than 11 years. Since May 11, Peel regional police have been looking for the person or persons who beat Potter to death with a baseball bat. Two suspects were arrested over the weekend. They are Sheldon Paul Clarkson, 36, of Colborne, escorted (left) by Staff Insp. Des Fowland, and Bryan John Bennett, 25, of Mississauga (right) being led to court by Det. Sgt. James Wingate and Det. Noel Calney. Both men were remanded one week when they appeared in Provincial Judge's Court.

Insane murderer 'highly intelligent'

By STEF DONEV
Star staff writer

Several hours after listening to a convicted rapist and mental patient confess to four murders, lawyer William Parker of the Attorney-General's department was sitting at home with a glass of scotch in his hand.

"That's when I got through to my feelings. That's when I said: 'Oh my God!'"

Parker, 38, described the patient at Penetanguishene

Mental Health Care Centre as a "highly intelligent and articulate" man "able to rationally describe how he murdered these people." Then he added, "Thank God he's locked up."

The patient faces a life sentence for the 1975 rape and attempted murder of an 8-year-old Craigeleith girl if he's ever released from Penetang. He was committed last October after being found not guilty by reason of insanity on charges of indecent assault causing bodily harm to an 18-year-old Etobicoke student on July 10, 1974.

The Craigeleith child was thrown naked from a car and left for dead in a ditch with a stocking knotted about her neck.

USED DRUGS

The man, 30, confessed to the 1974 murders of 7-year-old Cheryl Hanson and tourist Monique Vallet, about 20, of Paris.

The other two murders are still being investigated and although many of the details match his confession, some don't.

"But this man drank a great deal and used numerous drugs. The psychiatrist said he could be confused about details," Parker said.

Since the man is already locked up for life, Parker said he will not be prosecuted for the murders. The patient knew that when he confessed to them.

Parker said that because the man's co-operation is needed in other unsolved cases, "we would like to keep his name a secret at this stage."

Parker approached the patient through the man's lawyer six months ago. The patient refused to be interviewed by police.

"It's not my normal role," Parker said, "sitting in a room like that and listening to that sort of thing."

KEEP CONTEMPT

Parker said he went to the interview with a list of about 80 unsolved crimes of a similar nature across Canada since the late 1960s.

"The experience of talking to a man like this, it's just not normal. You wonder how police put up with it because they have conversations like this regular-

ly," Parker said.

"The man's loony. His values are totally different.

"He's intelligent and articulate and he's got nothing really to look forward to.

"But you have to guard against feeling sorry for the guy.

"There's no question that he's got to be locked up."

Fellow pupils pray for Cheryl --and her killer

By HELEN BULLOCK
Star staff writer

Extra prayers were said today at a Remembrance Day mass at Our Lady of the Annunciation school in Oak Ridges — prayers for blonde, blue-eyed 7-year-old Cheryl Hanson who disappeared from her Aurora home two years ago and prayers for the 30-year-old convicted rapist and mental patient who has confessed to murdering her.

The man, a patient at Penetanguishene Mental Health Centre, told a team of psychiatrists and lawyers that he killed Cheryl and also killed a 20-year-old French tourist. In the weeks that followed Cheryl's disappearance on May 31, 1974, while she was walking from her Bloomington Sideroad home to her cousin's home three-quarters of a mile away, more than 3,000 volunteers turned out to search the surrounding fields, woods and swampy areas.

More anxious

"We'll be praying for Cheryl," Dan Willison, principal of Our Lady of Annunciation, said yesterday, although he was not at the school when the Grade 2 pupil disappeared. "They still talk about it here. The parents are a lot more anxious over where their kids are because of it.

"One of the things this school does is try to watch out for kids," Willison said. "We have a rule that says no pupil is allowed to leave the school grounds without a note from his parents explaining where he is going and why. What happened here shocked everyone."

There are 230 pupils at the school and all but a handful are brought from the surrounding rural area by bus.

Donna Gerrits, 12, was one of the first to hear the news of the confession yesterday.

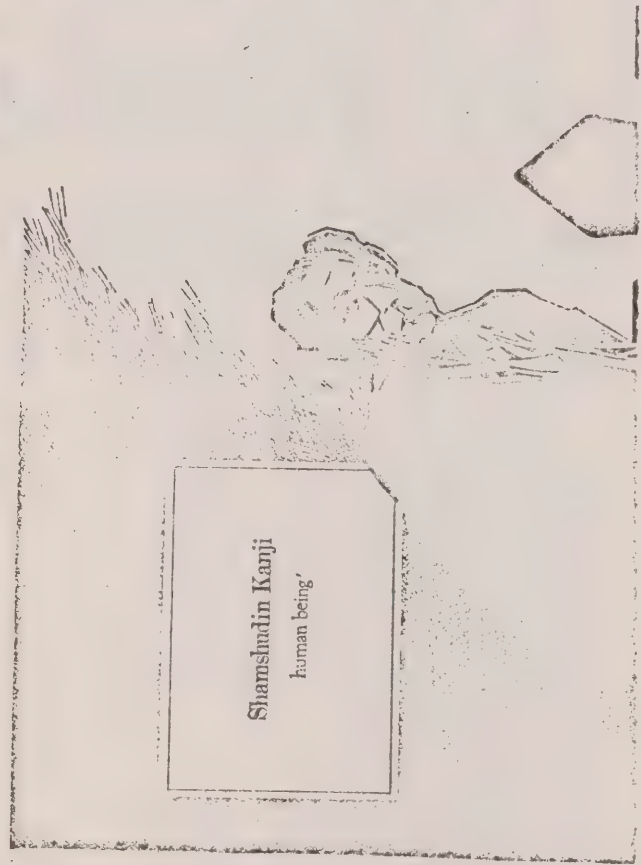
TREATMENT OF RACIAL ASSAULT TRIAL

IN

GLOBE AND MAIL

'They came and hit me from behind'

It was just another subway ride, but it ended in pain — sprawled on the tracks with two broken knees



, 1976

'Push the Paki' — bang!

For Shamsudin Kanji it meant maybe never walking normally again

CONTD.

Wylie was taken w
onto East General Hospital
where he has worked for 10
years as the hospital's as-
sistant chief stationary en-
gineer. He was later trans-
ferred to Toronto General.

Wylie's former wife,
Joan, who lives on Parkway
Forest Dr. in Willowdale,
said today she believes the
person who attacked her ex-
husband was motivated by
the Starsky and Hutch tele-
vision show Friday night.

"My friends told me that
in the show the police were
looking for a maniac kid
who killed three people and
beat up two others with a
baseball bat," Mrs. Wylie
said.

Police and Wylie's daugh-
ter discount this theory,
however, they think robbery
was the motive even though
Wylie still had \$20 in his
pocket.



VERN WYLIE
Helped by jogger

Man walking from store

Brutal attack with ball bat in Beaches

An east Toronto man, known to his family and friends as a quiet person and well-liked by everyone he knew, lies in Toronto General Hospital today, the victim of a savage attack with a baseball bat.

For Vernon Wylie, 56, the future is dim. He has a fractured skull and surgery was needed to remove two blood clots from his brain. His speech is impaired and doctors fear he may have brain damage that could affect him the rest of his life.

CALLED POLICE

The tragic turnabout in Wylie's life came Sunday night when a youth smashed him over the head with a baseball bat as he was returning to his home on Alfresco Lawn in the Beaches district after shopping at a nearby milk store.

Wylie had left the store at Queen St. E. and Wineva Ave. carrying a bag with milk, some cigarettes and a magazine when he was attacked on Lee Ave. near the Kew Beach boardwalk.

His daughter, Jo-Anne, 21, said she heard voices outside the house and went out to find a man leaning over her fallen father.

"I thought the man had beaten him up but he turned out to be a jogger who was helping Dad to his feet. He was bleeding badly and did not make much sense when he talked," she said today.

AFTER SHOPPING

The stricken man's daughter called police and an ambulance.

to Tor

Sobs wreck accused killer

By JAN LOUNDER
Staff Writer

Her voice choked with sobs, Gail Partyka, 31, took the stand yesterday and told a Supreme Court murder trial jury she shot and killed her heroin addict husband after he beat her up and threatened to kill her last January.

As the first witness called by the defence, Partyka said she "couldn't handle any more abuse" from the man she is accused of murdering.

She told the jury her husband punched her in the stomach several times and as she lay on the floor of her LaRose Avenue apartment for half an hour, she decided she would leave him.

When she went into her bedroom to get the suitcase she had packed earlier, she said her husband, Theodore, "started screaming again."
"My husband didn't make idle threats,"

Partyka sobbed. "That's when I ran and got the shotgun."

Then she told the jury what took place when she ran back into the bedroom.

"I told him to stay away from me please ... he shouted 'I hate your guts, I'm going to kill you' ... he jumped up ... that's when I shot him," she sobbed.

"I just wanted him to leave me alone, I didn't want to hurt him," she testified.

Partyka testified that her recollection of the events which followed — wrapping the body in a tent and dragging it down nine flights of stairs in the early hour of January 14 — was vague.

A neighbor told the jury Wednesday Partyka asked him to help her load "a beef or cow" into her car that morning.

She said yesterday his testimony was substantially correct.

She said she remembered cleaning up the blood in the apartment and that she did it to keep her 10-year-old daughter from seeing

it. "That was the main thing," she said.

As defence counsel Earl J. Levy questioned her, Partyka told the jury when she was six, her natural father "ran away with another woman." She said she began running away from home regularly at 12 and became a prostitute at 14.

She said her first marriage, at age 16, ended when her husband hung himself in a cell after being charged with drunken driving.

She said she was about 19 and had been working as a prostitute for a pimp who beat her up frequently when she first met Theodore Partyka. She said she didn't know at first he was a heroin addict.

"I thought he was the most wonderful person in the world," she said. They lived together for several years before marrying, she said and had a daughter, who is 10 years old now.

Partyka testified her husband supported his family by selling drugs and breaking

into places.
She said she returned to prostitution when he asked her to make some money to help pay his lawyers' bills.

Her husband "was very bitter ... he seemed to have two personalities ... when he came home after serving one five-year sentence in jail Partyka testified.

"Just all of a sudden out of the blue he'd get up and smack me," she told the jury. "If we went out anywhere ... he would degrade me pretty bad in front of people."

In cross-examination, questioning from Crown counsel Robert McGee, Partyka said she asked police to help her several times but they told her they couldn't intervene unless she wanted to press charges.

"I loved that man," she said. "I didn't want him in jail."

"I would give my life for his right now," she told the jury.

The trial continues today.

The Wounded Ways
You're saving power
The Photo magazine Page 2

"I killed my husband"
blurred covered killing
Toronto Sun, Friday, Dec 3, 1976 Page 2

'A big .45 automatic
can make awful mess'

Toronto Sun, December 3, 1976.

TORONTO SUN DECEMBER 3

TORONTO CASE HISTORY:

"Odor was sickly"

By JOHN COSWAY
Staff Writer

There was a "great deal" of blood and a sickly strong odor in the Church Street apartment of Johnie Bolden when Metro police entered it following the discovery of a woman's torso in a nearby laneway, an Ontario Supreme Court jury learned yesterday.

Much of the blood found throughout the one-bedroom apartment was of the same type as Margaret Fraser, 53, whose torso and severed legs were found in different locations in the neighborhood in May of last year, said William Philp, an analyst.

The analyst said blood on the jacket Bolden was wearing when arrested matched the blood type of Mrs. Fraser.

Bolden, 60, a black construction worker and U.S. citizen, is accused of murdering and dismembering Mrs. Fraser, who disappeared after she left her Gloucester Street apartment at 5:30 p.m. on May 10, 1975, to go to a nearby supermarket for groceries.

The dead woman had been living with Noah Smoke, 54, her common-law husband of 15 years, in an apartment half a block from the three-storey apartment building Bolden lived in at 596 Church Street.

Garnet Smoke told the court yesterday he was "pretty sure" the woman he saw pinned against the wall of the building Bolden lived in by a heavysset black man on May 10 was Mrs. Fraser.

Smoke said he was driving

to visit his brother Noah when he saw the man pinning the woman against the building and trying to "kiss her — or something." It was late afternoon.

"I didn't mention anything to my brother because I didn't want to get her in trouble," said Smoke. "If he (his brother) found out she was with another man he would get mad at her."

Smoke told the jury he did not say anything to his brother that night even after

being told later that Mrs. Fraser did not return home. He said he said nothing about it until after Mrs. Fraser's torso was found and then he told police.

Police were combing Bolden's apartment when they spotted him standing across the street in a service station lot, said Sgt. Barrett. Bolden offered no resistance when arrested and handcuffed but appeared to be surprised by his arrest.

The trial continues today.

2 The Toronto Sun, Monday, November 22, 1976

Burglars netting more in each job

Metro's burglars are netting an average of \$4,000 each raid — almost twice as much as they got last year.

The statistics were revealed yesterday in a Sun comparison of the first 20 days of this month to the same period in 1975.

A total of \$450,000 in goods was stolen during 12 break-ins at homes and businesses during this year's survey period — almost \$4,021 each time.

In the same period last year there were 170 break-ins netting \$380,000, an average of \$2,226 each time.

While the cost to victims appears to be on the increase, the picture doesn't

seem too bright for the crooks either.

Since the start of the month cops have nabbed 104 people on 215 breaking and entering charges. This compares to 35 people on 71 charges last year.

Metro's burglars tip-toed off with more than \$10 million worth of goods from homes and businesses in 1975. The amount recovered was just \$414,981.

The recovery rate there was about the same as 1975 — only that year the raiders got away with about half, \$5,213,135.

Deputy Police Chief Jack Ackroyd said yesterday:

"The bulk of the break-ins

appear to be committed by youngsters. There seems to be a pattern of young people, 16- to 18-year-olds, involved."

He wouldn't comment on what appears to be an increase in the break and enters in Metro this year saying, "You can't compare one or two years. These things go up and down."

To make his point he said that in the early 70s burglaries were quite high and then in 1973 dropped 10 per cent, to about 12,000 from more than 13,000.

However since then the rate has climbed to a point where there were more than 16,500 break-ins last year.

Ackroyd and other police officials agree that burglaries tend to be a seasonal thing.

"In the cold winter months the crime patterns drop," Ackroyd said. "In the warmer months people leave windows and doors open, kids are prowling and if they do get into a house it's easier to carry the goods. They don't have to crawl through snow banks."

Earlier this year a series of raids by drug squad officers working out of the east-end netted 23 suspects and the recovery of more than \$70,000 in goods. At that time police said the thefts were part of a well organized house break-in ring that took only the best items from the better parts of town.

And in March this year a 21-year-old man pleaded guilty to breaking into 14 homes but told police during earlier questioning he had hit more than 1,000 in eight years.

While it is impossible to completely burglar-proof a home police say there are a lot of safeguards that can be taken and apparently aren't.

Since burglars go into homes when the owners are out the best protection is to always leave the house with that occupied look. Police say leave lights on, keep a radio playing and always let neighbors know when you're going away.

Make it hard for thieves to get in. Install good quality dead-bolt locks on doors and locks on windows. Don't leave gardening tools or snow shovels lying around outside. They can be used to break windows.

And if you can't do any of those things, mark valuables so they can be identified, if found, and make them harder for the thief to pawn.

Rescue attempt leads to beating

A 19-year-old student says he's learned a lesson: "If you're going to help someone, do it from a distance."

He tried to stop a beating last week, and today he lives in fear of reprisals.

He asked that his name not be used because "I'm afraid the guys will come looking for me."

The youth, a first-year science student at York University, was driving home along Lawrence Ave. near Bathurst St. shortly after 11 p.m. when he saw two men beating up a cab driver.

The street was otherwise deserted, and the student pulled into a deserted gas station intending to summon police on a radio-telephone recently installed in his car.

But the \$1,500 instrument, which uses a special FM frequency set up and operated by Bell Canada, was not quick enough.

"The guys beating up the taxi driver noticed me and came up to my car and started beating me up," he said in an interview last night.

But he managed to get away, uninjured except for "a pretty fat face," and called police from a nearby restaurant.

And it wasn't long before two men were picked up and booked — one charged with common assault, the other with "mischief" for causing more than \$50 worth of damage to the taxi.

Study XIII

An examination of one newspaper's
attempt to set the incidence of
violence in perspective.

Note: Appendices for this study follow
the text (See pages 159-162)

There is ample evidence from the previous studies in this report that adding factual information concerning the incidence of various types of crimes to a crime story significantly alters the reader's, viewer's or listener's perceptions toward a more realistic picture. During the course of completing those studies, it happened that one Toronto newspaper, the Toronto Star, ran some feature stories on crime and the social perceptions of crime on pages one and two of the paper for Saturday, October 23, 1976. The page one headline read: "Metro's fear of crime exaggerated, experts say." (See appendix. The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of isolated feature stories on a person's perceptions of the incidence of violence.

This experiment used actual newspapers as stimuli. There were two conditions. In the first subjects were exposed to a copy of the Toronto Star for October 23, 1976, which contained a number of stories on crime in the city, under such titles as "Metro's fear of crime exaggerated, experts say" and "violent crime may be on the decline." In the second they received a copy of the previous day's paper, which did not contain any such stories.

Subjects were Ontario Science Centre patrons who volunteered for the study. Upon entering, they were given one of the papers and asked to read through the first three or four pages. When they had done this they were given a questionnaire (See appendix) containing items related to perceptions of danger in the city. Once they had completed this, the experiment was at an end and they were given a thorough description of the aims of the study in general. The first part took around ten minutes and the second about five.

The results of this study are shown in Table I. Alternatives to each question were assigned the numbers 1 to 5 corresponding to the letters A through E. The means were then calculated for the two groups. As can be seen from Table I, there are very small differences between the two groups and these proved to be non-significant using analysis of variance.

Insert Table I about here

The conclusions to be drawn from this small study are that if it was the intention of the newspaper to convey a realistic impression of the incidence of violent crime, this attempt failed. However, a brief examination of the content would suggest that this failure is not surprising. The lead feature begins with a multi-paragraph description of an apparently senseless violent crime. On page two, the headlines proclaiming a decrease in violence are interspersed with stories of how to protect oneself against crime.

This study, taken together with the remainder in the series, would suggest that more realistic perceptions of violence can be obtained through supplementary crime news stories with accurate and thoughtful background information. Attempts to provide such information in isolation from news reports seem to be ineffectual. This final generalization might not hold, however, if such attempts were more thoughtfully executed.

TABLE I

Mean responses for feature story and control group

1) What do you think the chances are that you, one of your family, or one of your close friends might be the victim of an assault during the year?		
1 (a) Approximately 1 chance in 10		
2 (b) Approximately 1 chance in 50		
3 (c) Approximately 1 chance in 500	Feature story:	3.30
4 (d) Approximately 1 chance in 1,000	Control:	3.52
5 (e) Approximately 1 chance in 10,000		
3) In relation to houses or small apartment buildings, how dangerous do you think are high-rises?		
1 (a) Much safer		
2 (b) Somewhat safer		
3 (c) About the same	Feature story:	3.13
4 (d) Somewhat more dangerous	Control:	3.43
5 (e) Much more dangerous		
4) What do you think the chances are that if you were to walk alone at night on the residential streets in your neighbourhood each night for a month that you would be the victim of a serious crime?		
1 (a) Approximately 1 chance in 10		
2 (b) Approximately 1 chance in 50		
3 (c) Approximately 1 chance in 500	Feature story:	3.17
4 (d) Approximately 1 chance in 1,000	Control:	3.52
5 (e) Approximately 1 chance in 10,000		
6) How many murders do you think took place in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975?		
1 (a) Fewer than 50		
2 (b) 50-100		
3 (c) 101-200	Feature story:	2.04
4 (d) 201-300	Control:	2.30
5 (e) 301-500		
8) Do you think the police are doing an effective job of controlling crime?		
1 (a) Definitely Yes		
2 (b) Probably Yes		
3 (c) Undecided	Feature story:	2.65
4 (d) Probably not	Control:	2.74
5 (e) Definitely not		
9) Do you ever decide not to walk alone at night because you are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime?		
1 (a) Very often		
2 (b) Often		
3 (c) Occasionally	Feature story:	3.39
4 (d) Almost never	Control:	3.49
5 (e) Never		

- 1) What do you think the chances are that you, one of your family, or one of your close friends might be the victim of an assault during the year?
 - a) Approximately 1 chance in 10
 - b) Approximately 1 chance in 50
 - c) Approximately 1 chance in 500
 - d) Approximately 1 chance in 1,000
 - e) Approximately 1 chance in 10,000
- 2) Do you think Canadian or American citizens found guilty of offences in Mexico, should be detained in Mexican prisons rather than transferred home to serve their sentences?
 - a) Definitely Yes
 - b) Probably Yes
 - c) No opinion
 - d) Probably not
 - e) Definitely not
- 3) In relation to houses or small apartment buildings, how dangerous do you think are high-rises?
 - a) Much safer
 - b) Somewhat safer
 - c) About the same
 - d) Somewhat more dangerous
 - e) Much more dangerous
- 4) What do you think the chances are that if you were to walk alone at night on the residential streets in your neighbourhood each night for a month that you would be the victim of a serious crime?
 - a) Approximately 1 chance in 10
 - b) Approximately 1 chance in 50
 - c) Approximately 1 chance in 500
 - d) Approximately 1 chance in 1,000
 - e) Approximately 1 chance in 10,000
- 5) Do you think that most homes are adequately fire-proof?
 - a) Definitely yes
 - b) Probably yes
 - c) Don't know
 - d) Probably not
 - e) Definitely not
- 6) How many murders do you think took place in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975?
 - a) Fewer than 50
 - b) 50-100
 - c) 101-200
 - d) 201-300
 - e) 301-500
- 7) What is the current rate of inflation in Canada?
 - a) 0-5%
 - b) 5-9%
 - c) 9-12%
 - d) 12-20%
 - e) Don't know
- 8) Do you think the police are doing an effective job of controlling crime?
 - a) Definitely Yes
 - b) Probably Yes
 - c) Undecided
 - d) Probably not
 - e) Definitely not

9) Do you ever decide not to walk alone at night because you are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime?

- a) Very often
- b) Often
- c) Occasionally
- d) Almost never
- e) Never

Crime experts explode myth

another example of an increasingly common situation in Toronto, Metro right last at other indications that Canada is becoming a more violent society right.

What, say the criminologists and the police, aren't the sociologists and the street beats?

Well, criminologists says Dan Keating, an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Victoria, is that Canadians are not being hit an even rate of being murdered or murdered.

In a recent study, he found that Canadians are in times more likely to be killed in a car accident than by a murderer and that no every Canadian who is slain, fear would be satisfied.

In it, your chances of being a victim of violent crime in Metro are just about the same as winning a prize in the Winnipeg lottery. One in 290 are winners in

exponentially large increase in crime in the 1960s and early 70s. Bick added.

But the accuracy of the early figures for the last 12 months isn't much better. The last 12 months isn't much better than the last 12 months.

But the accuracy of the early figures for the last 12 months isn't much better than the last 12 months.

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But the accuracy of the early figures for the last 12 months isn't much better than the last 12 months.

in the public mind than economic issues. How, though? Why is the public's perception of violent crime so distorted?

The explanation, says Bick, is that we're stuck with a misconception by crime in the United States.

In 1971 the last year for which comparative figures are available, the U.S. rate for violent crime was 100 per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with only 19.6 for Canada. That's a ratio of nearly five to one.

are preoccupied with crime. It's not a discussion about law and order and how to start them to the study of the average citizen. The Canadian public's sense of nerves is based on the U.S. situation, says Bick.

That nervousness has produced record See ADAMSON CRIME, page A2

agrees with Hogarth. The streets of Metro are still safe, Adamson said in an interview, adding: "We aren't as safe as we were 25 years ago, but where in the world is anybody as safe these days?"

According to the latest figures available from Statistics Canada, Adamson is right. Only Ottawa has "blinking" that a lower rate of violent crime than most cities in 1974. According to a report of the Canadian Council on Crime and Delinquency, however, Metro takes more than double the rate of crime.

Nevertheless, although violent crime is still a threat, even reduced, public concern is still high. In fact, of every 10 Canadians are asked to walk alone at night, only one says they would not. The statistics, says Bick, are the problem of violent crime and juvenile delinquency in the streets is more important

Toronto Star, October 23, 1976.

Violent crime may be on decline

Continued from page 1

business for trainers of guard dogs, security firms and locksmiths. But in 1970, according to Don Bridgman, marketing manager for Commercial Union Assurance Group, there have been fewer break and enter cases in Metro.

There are indications that the crime rate began to rise less rapidly several years ago. From 1963 to 1971 inclusive, the overall Metro crime rate rose by 33 per cent. But during the next four years, 1972 to 1975, the spread of crime was slowed to 12 per cent.

Several authorities interviewed by The Star confidently predicted that violent crime would become less frequent in future because society as a whole is getting older.

"About 90 per cent of the violent acts

are committed by people between the ages of 16 and 23," explained Professor Cyril Greenland of the U.S. of University, a prolific researcher in the field of violence.

The reduced rate of growth of our national economy is another reason criminologists are forecasting less violence in the future.

A sociological truism — based on past observation — is that social disruption and violence are associated with periods of rapid economic expansion. At such times, people have high expectations. They change jobs, they move into bigger homes, they aspire to more of everything.

"But in the past few years," says Hogarth, "people have become less ambitious. They're getting by with the same home and car — or even smaller ones

They're hanging on to the job they have. The society has become more stay-put, more stable. And that makes for less violence."

It's also true that a more conservative attitude has been developing throughout all strata of society — and that acts as a curb on disruptive behavior.

Only a decade ago, for example, college campuses were the sites of sit-ins, demonstrations and other active protests against the university, government or specific groups in society. Today, by comparison, the academic world is relatively tranquil. "Many people seem to be looking for stable, authoritative figures," says Hogarth.

Police gain favor

It may also explain why the police — once widely referred to with disdain as "pigs" and "the fuzz" — have grown in public favor. A recent University of Toronto criminology department survey showed that 86 per cent of Metro residents held the police in high esteem.

"But," observes Sergeant David Kerr of the Metro police community services bureau, "a poll of Metro police showed that only 44 per cent of them believed that they were highly regarded by the public. Obviously the police are lagging in their view of how the public perceive them."

Provincial Court Judge Michael J. Cloney said any apparent increase in violence might be attributable to the fact that Metro's police force is bigger and detects more crime in a larger population.

Drugs such as amphetamines and MDA, a hallucinogen, "induce a dangerous violence. A man on drugs with a knife is dangerous whereas a drunk with a knife is stupid. The drunk doesn't co-ordinate well. The drug guy does co-ordinate well. He can think quickly, his escape routes are clear in his mind, he can think on the spot."

'Something impulsive'

The MDA or speed user, says Scott, "can walk along the street and seemingly be okay and yet suddenly on some pretext may strike somebody, rob a cab driver, attack a passerby, do something that is very impulsive."

These "impulsivity crimes" are becoming more common among younger people who, once imprisoned and off drugs, are often easier to straighten out than other kinds of offenders.

How you can deal with a burglar

What do you do at night if you believe there's a burglar in the house?

If you hear a window breaking, a door being forced or a table or chair being knocked over, get to a telephone if possible and immediately call police, says Homicide's Staff Sgt. Jim Newsome.

If you are unsure of the noise — it might just be the normal creaking of a house as it reacts to temperature changes — get up and check out the sound.

Police say there is no sure and safe protection against an armed thug, a determined rapist or murderer.

If confronted by a man with a gun or a knife, a Metro Police spokesman advises: "Give him what he wants or run the risk of being badly hurt or even killed."

The best help the victim can provide to keep criminals down, police say, is to give police a good description of the assailant and the direction he fled after the offence.

A2** THE TORONTO STAR, Sat., October 23, 1976

Eaton buys guard dog

John Craig Eaton has acquired a German Shepherd guard dog following the rescue and kidnapping of his daughter, Stacy, 14, last June 15.

The chairman of Eaton's of Canada Ltd. sent his private jet to collect the guard dog and its trainer from a kennel in North Carolina and killed the trainer in the Hyatt Regency while he was putting the dog through its paces.

Robert Carr, 47, was sentenced to life imprisonment on Oct. 14 for Signys kidnapping from Eaton's Rathnelly Ave. home. The abduction was foiled when a neighbor heard a prowler and telephoned police.

Despite recent figures showing that vio-

lent crime in Metro is either leveling off or declining, fear in Metro of breaking and entering, robbery and kidnapping is providing a bonanza for trainers of guard dogs, security firms and locksmiths.

Paul Moran, owner of Obedience Plus, says he receives five inquiries a week from people who want a guard dog.

Moran says that a couple of years ago 80 per cent of his business was obedience training and 20 per cent guard dog training. Now 60 per cent of his business is guard dog training and 40 per cent obedience training. He charges \$1,350 to train a guard dog.

He says a large part of his business comes from people who live on ravine lots and worry about prowlers. He says

women are thinking more about dogs for protection.

He uses about seven breeds, including German Shepherds and Doberman Pinschers. "They are just like normal dogs except that when they growl they mean it."

Sandy Hislop, sales manager of Truoh Industries, a firm that manufactures and maintains security systems, says that his company's business has increased sharply. "A year ago we weren't in the business of providing security systems for homes but now we have about 200 customers."

Hislop said his customers, most of them wealthy, are not just afraid of having their houses ransacked. "They are scared when they are in the houses."

Second class mail registration number 211

After daughter's abduction

Mike West, marketing manager for the company, said his firm isn't interested in talking to anyone about home security unless they want to spend a minimum of \$1,000 plus a \$30 a month maintenance fee. Other systems go up to \$10,000 with a \$100 maintenance fee.

There were 16,549 break-ins in Metro last year and most happened during the day when the occupant was out.

Most were committed against the average apartment of homeowner. And the consensus is that they were committed by non-professionals, young people looking for quick financing for whatever—drugs, booze, good times.

Len Passorello, former president of the Association of Ontario Locksmiths, says the sale of locks in Metro in the past year

has increased 50 per cent over the previous year.

People are becoming more security conscious, he says. "They want to secure their premises more so than ever before."

But in 1976, according to Don Bridgman, marketing manager for Commercial Union Assurance Group there has been a reduction in the number of break and enters in Metro.

"I think it has dropped slightly because of better security in apartment buildings and because of better locks. People are becoming more conscious of break-ins."

The most dramatic increase in security in Ontario in the past few years has involved the private security companies.

Some 7,000 security guards are hired in the Toronto area, an increase of 40 per cent since 1973, and there seems to be no sign to the increase in the business. At least 15 private security companies have been formed in Metro just in the past few months.

But this growth has been largely to patrol commercial or industrial buildings, not private homes.

Frank Williams, district manager of Pinkerton's of Canada Ltd., said there has been no increase in business in terms of protecting people or private property. "It's not a factor," he said. "We would be very pleased in a business sense if it were."

Toronto Star, October 23, 1976.

Too much violence judge says

By RAE CORELLI
Star staff writer

They made Joe Addison a judge 10 years ago and after they swore him in they sent him out to York Township, as it was called then, where there were enough cases to keep him moderately busy for about 2½ days in every five.

The other week, the rotating duty schedule of the Provincial Criminal Courts had taken Joe Addison back to York Borough, which it is called now, where there is enough work for three judges five days a week with some left over on Fridays.

The comparison says something about the changing face of York township and borough.

It says a lot more about the changing face of violent crime in York and, by implication, the rest of Metropolitan Toronto.

'An assortment'

In York Township in 1958, Joe Addison reflected in an interview the other day, "we used to get the odd impaired driver and an assortment of other stuff — a little bit of assault, a little bit of shopbreaking." And today?

"Today," says Addison, "the big item on my list every day is assaults. Neighbors against neighbors. People carrying things and hitting people with them."

Among the people who sentence, study and try to rehabilitate offenders, Joe Addison's perception of an increase of violent crime — while not universally shared — has broad support.

Judge Hugh M. O'Connell of the York County Court is perplexed by the fact that "there seems to be no in-between: it's either violent crime or it's petty. The effects of people's actions are violent."

"The use of knives and other sharp instruments, the damage that is being done to people, is not really just assault causing bodily harm. It's real serious injury they're inflicting."

An associate of Addison's on the Provincial Court bench said assaults appeared to be more numerous than they were a few years ago. "I'm not talking about husband-and-wife encounters but street brawls where somebody has made an inflammatory remark and someone else has taken umbrage."

If there have been changes in the nature and extent of violent crime, they're not evident to other judges.

Tries many

Judge Hugh S. Honsberger, who probably tries as many criminal cases as any other jurist on the York County Court bench, said he doesn't see "an awful lot of difference" between today's offenders and offences and those of five years ago.

Judge Douglas Coe said his three years on the county bench haven't led him to believe there "is a worsening in the nature or quality of violence despite the fact that I read surveys and commentaries that would suggest it is both in frequency and intensity."

Although he is far removed from the structured formality of Metropolitan Toronto's criminal courts, Dr. George Scott knows something about the frequency and intensity of anti-social behavior.

Scott is assistant regional director of psychiatry for the Canadian Penitentiary Service at Kingston. Violent crime, he says, can be divided roughly into three categories.

The first embraces crimes which are planned "and in which there had to be violence to make the crime successful." Armed robbery, for example. The second category is crime "by the mentally deranged — attacks on women, murder and things of that nature."

What he sees in these first two categories hasn't changed much in the last several years, says Scott.

But he is sobered by what he finds in the third category — "violence as a secondary product of the drug culture."

Toronto Star, October 23, 1976.

High-rises breed crime? Don't you believe it

Are high-rise apartments breeding grounds for crime? It's an old argument — used by some borough politicians who have opposed new high-rise projects on the grounds they will lead to more violence — but there's little evidence it's true.

Says University of Toronto sociologist Norman Bell, who has conducted studies on crime for the federal government: "There now appears to be no clear relationship between living in an apartment per se and the commission of violent acts."

The Urban Development Institute (UDI), which represents Metro's major apartment owners, says: "There is no

evidence whatsoever of higher crime rates in apartments."

Metro Police Commission figures show that there are almost twice as many break-ins in houses as in apartments. There were 2,640 break-ins of apartments up to Oct. 7 this year, compared with 4,734 house break-ins for the same period.

And in Metro, the police district with the highest population density — No. 1, lying between Spadina Ave. and the Humbler River, south of Lawrence Ave. — doesn't have the highest crime rate. That dubious distinction falls to district No. 5, immediately to the east and stretching to Victoria Park Ave., with 14,132 offences per 100,000 people, compared with 8,171 offences in No. 1.

VIOLENT CRIME IN METRO

	1965	1975	% Increase
Population	1,812,202	2,152,269	18.7
Murder	20	48	140
Attempted murder	2	44	2,100
Manslaughter	4	5	25
Rape	52	204	285
Wounding	300	429	43
Assault	2,815	7,937	172
Indecent assault	727	945	30
Robbery	627	1,945	210
Total	4,648	11,557	149%
* Estimate.			

D: References

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E: Appendices

to Studies I-XI

- 1). Which of the following locations do you consider to be the most dangerous?
 The Subway ☐ Inside a Bus ☐
 Yonge st. ☐ At a football game ☐
 A Tavern ☐ High Park ☐
- 2). How many murders were committed in Toronto last year? ☐
- 3). Do you think someone could be attacked outside an apartment building, in full view of many people, without somebody coming to help? ☐
- 4). Which age group is most likely to encounter some kind of violence? ☐
- 5). What are the chances, do you think, of you being attacked in the subway?
 1 in 100 ☐ 1 in 10,000 ☐
 1 in 1,000 ☐ 1 in 100,000 ☐ 1 in a million ☐
- 6). Supposing you were involved in a fight, do you think it would be with:
 a Relative ☐ an Acquaintance ☐ or a Total Stranger ☐
- 7). In what location do most rapes occur? ☐
- 8). How dangerous do you consider hitch-hiking?
 Not at all ☐ Somewhat ☐ Fairly ☐ Extremely ☐
- 9). Are there any areas of Toronto that you regard as more dangerous than others? ☐
- 10). In your opinion what kind of person is most likely to be the object of a violent assault? ☐
- 11). Do you consider it necessary to keep your apartment or house locked at all times? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 12). Of the following, which one is most likely to encounter some form of violence in their job?
 Bus Driver ☐ Cab Driver ☐ Tavern Waiter ☐ Security Guard ☐
- 13). Do you believe there should be more security precautions on the T.T.C.? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 14). In general do you think women are more often the victims of violence? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 15). Are fights more likely to occur on the street or in taverns? Street ☐ Taverns ☐
- 16). Which of the following groups are most responsible for violent crimes?
 Delinquent youths ☐ Professional criminals ☐ Motor bike gangs ☐
 People previously convicted of murder ☐ Psychotics ☐
- 17). Of all the homicides in Toronto last year, what percentage would you suppose, were related or married to their killers? ☐
- 18). Compared to 10 years ago, how safe do you feel it is to live in Toronto now?
 Much safer now ☐ Somewhat less safe now ☐
 Somewhat safer now ☐ Much less safe now ☐
 About the same ☐
- 19). Are there areas near you that you consider unsafe to walk home in at night?
 Yes ☐ No ☐

20). Do you read a newspaper regularly? Yes ____ No ____
If yes, which one?

21). Do you watch the local news on T.V.? Every day ____
Occasionally ____
Frequently ____
Almost never ____

22). Name the T.V. shows you are most likely to watch in a typical week.

23). How often do you listen to the news on the radio? Every day ____
Frequently ____
Occasionally ____
Never ____
If so, what station?

Appendix 2: Condition (a)

Another Metro Rape

A 24-year-old Toronto resident was beaten and raped last night after leaving a bar in a downtown hotel. Metro police report that the victim, an attractive brunette, left the bar alone. On the way back to her apartment, she took a short cut through a poorly lit park and was attacked by a medium build dark haired man. He struck her several times across the face before raping her. He then told her that if she called the police he would kill her.

After he left her, the woman stopped a police cruiser which took her to Toronto Western Hospital where she was treated for minor cuts and bruises and then released. No arrests have been made, but late last night a man fitting the description of the rapist was being questioned by Metro Police detectives.

According to Metro Police, rapes of this type are quite unusual in that this crime does not usually occur in public parks nor is it usually a crime that occurs between complete strangers.

Another Metro Rape

A 24-year old woman was beaten and raped last night after leaving a bar in a downtown hotel. The victim, a resident of Toronto, was struck several times across the face before being raped. Metro Police report that the victim, an attractive brunette, left the bar with a medium build dark haired man. He offered her a ride home and then forced himself into her apartment and raped her. The rapist told her that if she called the police, he would kill her.

After he left her, the woman stopped a police cruiser which took her to Toronto Western Hospital where she was treated for minor cuts and bruises and then released. No arrests have been made, but late last night a man fitting the description of the rapist was being questioned by Metro Police detectives.

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A 24-year old Toronto resident was beaten and raped last night after leaving a bar in a downtown hotel. The victim, an attractive brunette, left the bar with a medium build, dark haired man whom she had met in the bar. On the way back to her apartment, she took a short cut through a poorly lit park and was attacked. After striking her several times across the face, he raped her. Before leaving, he told her that if she called the police, he would kill her.

After he left her, the woman stopped a police cruiser which took her to Toronto Western Hospital where she was treated for minor cuts and bruises and then released. No arrests have been made, but late last night a man fitting the description of the rapist was being questioned by Metro Police detectives.

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MUGGING VICTIMS QUERIED OVER SENSELESS KILLING.

Homicide investigators are questioning victims of muggings in the Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street area in attempts to find the killers of a 46 year-old man.

Allen Mclean, who lived at his brother's Lochway Court home was viciously attacked last weekend by two youths who kicked him to the ground without provocation.

Several people witnessed the attack, but nobody went to his aid.

Mclean had spend the evening quietly at his wife's Gerrard Street East home watching the Saturday night hockey game. His wife Helen, said they've been separated for about 15 years but he often visited her.

Homicide Sgt. Ronald Prior, who is probing the murder with Sgt. Vaughan O'Toole, said it was a "senseless and shocking" attack on an innocent man.

He said Mclean was six feet one but only weighed 138 pounds.

"Those guys just threw him to the ground and went to work on him...everything to the head," the homicide detective said, "They kicked him purely out of sheer viciousness."

An autopsy showed Mclean didn't even fight back. Mclean died Monday afternoon from lacerations to the brain.

QUESTION MARK SURROUNDING MUGGING VICTIM.

Homicide investigators are questioning friends of yesterday's murder victim, in an attempt to locate the killers of the 46 year-old man.

Allen Mclean, who lived at his brother's Lochway court home in Etobicoke, was viciously attacked yesterday by two youths who stole his wallet which contained a few credit cards and a couple of dollars.

Several people witnessed the attack but nobody went to his aid.

Police have apparently discounted the possibility that the murder was a simple mugging. Several witnesses stated that Mclean turned to run as soon as he saw the two youths. One of the murderers was reported to have used the victim's name as he kicked him.

Homicide Sgt. Ronald Prior, who is probing the murder with Sgt. Vaughan O'Toole, said it was a "motivated and shocking" attack on the man.

He said Maclean was six feet one but weighed only 138 pounds.

"Those guys could have just held him and reached into his pocket and took his wallet," Prior said. "They probably had some other motive for the viciousness of the attack."

"Those guys just threw him to the ground and went to work on him...everything to the head." the homicide detectives said.

Mclean died this morning from lacerations of the brain.

Police at the Regent Street Station are questioning two of the murder victim's nephews and are seeking a third.

MUGGING VICTIMS QUERIED OVER KILLING.

Homicide investigators are questioning victims of muggings around the area in which a 46 year-old man was killed. Allan Mclean, who lived at his brother's home, was viciously attacked last weekend by two youths who stole his wallet which contained a few dollars and some credit cards.

Several people witnessed the attack but nobody went to his aid.

Mclean had spent the night at his wife's home watching the Saturday night hockey game and went out for a few beers. His wife, Helen, said they've been separated for about 15 years, but he often visited her.

Homicide Sgt. Ronald Prior, who is probing the murder with Sgt. Vaughan O'Toole, said it was a "shocking" attack on an innocent man.

He said Mclean was six foot one but weighed only 138 pounds.

"Those guys could have just held him and reached into his pocket and took his wallet," Prior said. "They kicked him purely out of sheer viciousness."

An autopsy showed Mclean didn't even attempt to fight back.

"Those guys just threw him to the ground and went to work on him...everything to the head," the homicide detective said.

Mclean died Monday afternoon from lacerations of the brain.

Police believe the killers are responsible for other muggings in the area and are getting detailed descriptions of attackers from other assault victims.

Meanwhile, children playing in the area found Mclean's wallet containing his credit cards. They took it to the Police Station. Police said the money was the only thing missing.

Man drowns in own pool

Maurice Chevalier, 40, drowned in the swimming pool in his yard on Alicewood Court, Etobicoke, yesterday.

Mr. Chevalier's wife said she and her husband had been sitting on the patio beside the pool during the afternoon. She said she went inside the house to prepare dinner.

Her husband said he was going to swim across the pool before he came in to eat. When he did not come inside, a daughter went out to call him and found him in the pool.

Mr. Chevalier was a supervisor for Canadian Linen Supply. He leaves his wife and two children.

Lightning kills skier on lake

A 23-year-old East York man was killed by lightning yesterday as he water-skied on Lake Simcoe.

Witnesses said John Beauvais, of Eastdale Ave., was struck as he was towed behind a small boat near here.

York Regional Police said Beauvais collapsed into the water. He was pronounced dead on arrival at York County Hospital in Newmarket.

Police said it was not raining at the time, although widespread thunder and lightning were reported.

Beauvais, a truck driver with the Pilkington Glass Co., was single.

Mike McQuaid, a friend who was driving the 65-horsepower aluminum boat, told The Star Beauvais "seemed to light up" when the bolt hit him.

Israeli visitor, 22, dies of encephalitis
of unknown origin

An Israeli visitor to Canada died at Toronto General Hospital early Saturday after losing his fight with encephalitis.

Avner Erlich, 22, of Tel Aviv, had been in the hospital since July 1 after being hit by a form of encephalitis caused by the Herpes Simplex Virus, which in its commonest form causes cold sores.

A hospital spokesman said the death was considered natural and no inquest would be ordered. The body will be shipped back to Israel.

Health officials have said the encephalitis that killed Erlich is not one of the strains carried by mosquitoes. Last year, the mosquito-borne St. Louis strain of encephalitis was blamed for five deaths in the Windsor area and a half-dozen non-fatal cases in Metro.

Independent truckers may strike

More than 200 independent truckers will pull their rigs off the road tomorrow unless Metro area pit and quarry operators agree to increase haulage rates.

The truckers are protesting low rates paid by operators and have set 10 a.m. tomorrow as a deadline for action on their demands.

Gerald Wilkes, president of the Toronto, York and Durham Regional Truckers' Association, said truckers working on supply contracts are often paid at rates equivalent to those established by the Ministry of Transportation and Communications in 1973.

He said association members want to be paid suggested minimum rates set down by the ministry this year.

Wilkes said the association has asked the ministry for legislation to enforce minimum haulage rates across Ontario.

- 1) How many people were killed by lightning in Ontario last year?
 - a) 0-5
 - b) 6-10
 - c) 11-20
 - d) 20-30
- 2) What percentage of rape victims are total strangers to their assailants?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 20-40%
 - c) 40-60%
 - d) 60-80%
 - e) 80-100%
- 3) Do you think rape is:
 - a) much more likely to occur in a private place, such as a home than in a public place.
 - b) somewhat more likely to occur in a private place than a public place.
 - c) equally likely to occur in a private or a public place such as a park or a parking lot.
 - d) somewhat more likely to occur in a public place.
 - e) much more likely to occur in a public place.
- 4) How long do most strikes last?
 - a) 2 weeks
 - b) 4 weeks
 - c) 6 weeks
 - d) 8 or more weeks.
- 5) How dangerous do you think, is the area around Broadview and Gerrard?
 - a) Very dangerous
 - b) Fairly dangerous
 - c) Somewhat dangerous
 - d) Fairly safe
 - e) Very safe
 - f) No idea.
- 6) How many deaths were due to encephalitis in Canada last year?
 - a) Less than 5
 - b) More than 5
 - c) More than 10
 - d) More than 15
 - e) Don't know.
- 7) Do you think that most victims of serious assaults are:
 - a) known to their assailants
 - b) are they more likely to be total strangers?
- 8) Do you think it is dangerous for people to swim alone, even in their own pools?

YES ----

NO ----

Another Metro Rape

A 24-year old woman was beaten and raped last night after leaving a bar in a downtown hotel. The victim, a resident of Toronto, was struck several times across the face before being raped. Metro Police report that the victim, an attractive brunette, left the bar with a medium build dark haired man. He offered her a ride home and then forced himself into her apartment and raped her. The rapist told her that if she called the police, he would kill her.

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Another Metro Rape

A 24-year-old Toronto resident was beaten and raped last night on her way home. Metro police report that the victim, an attractive brunette, had been shopping on her own in the downtown area. On the way back to her apartment she took a short cut through a poorly-lit park and was attacked by a dark-haired man of medium build. He struck her several times across the face before raping her. Then he told her that if she called the police he would kill her.

After he left the woman stopped a police cruiser which took her to Toronto Western Hospital where she was treated for cuts and bruises and then released. No arrests have been made as of yet, but late last night a man fitting the description of the rapist was being questioned by Metro Police detectives.

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- 1) How many people were killed by lightning in Ontario last year?
 - a) 0-5
 - b) 6-10
 - c) 11-20
 - d) 20-30
- 2) What percentage of rape victims are total strangers to their assailants?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 20-40%
 - c) 40-60%
 - d) 60-80%
 - e) 80-100%
- 3) Do you think rape is:
 - a) much more likely to occur in a private place, such as a home than in a public place.
 - b) somewhat more likely to occur in a private place than a public place.
 - c) equally likely to occur in a private or a public place such as a park or a parking lot.
 - d) somewhat more likely to occur in a public place.
 - e) much more likely to occur in a public place.
- 4) How long do most strikes last?
 - a) 2 weeks
 - b) 4 weeks
 - c) 6 weeks
 - d) 8 or more weeks.
- 5) How dangerous do you think, is the area around Broadview and Gerrard?
 - a) Very dangerous
 - b) Fairly dangerous
 - c) Somewhat dangerous
 - d) Fairly safe
 - e) Very safe
- 6) How many deaths were due to encephalitis in Canada last year?
 - a) Less than 5
 - b) More than 5
 - c) More than 10
 - d) More than 15
 - e) Don't know.
- 7) Victims of serious assaults are
 - a) very likely to be known to their assailants
 - b) likely to be known to their assailants
 - c) equally likely to be known or unknown to their assailants
 - d) likely to be unknown to their assailants
 - e) very likely to be unknown to their assailants
- 8) Do you think it is dangerous for people to swim alone, even in their own pools?
 - a) definitely yes
 - b) probably yes
 - c) probably not
 - d) definitely not

Appendix 4: The materials used in this replication
were identical to those used
in Study III. Please refer to
Appendix 3.

Metro Man Victim of Senseless Attack

A resident of the Dufferin and St. Clair area was attacked and severely beaten last night as he walked home through a park 3 blocks away. Ernest Tibando, a shipper for Union Carbide, in his late 40's, was struck several times on the head by the two youths who used a heavy metal wrench on the man.

A passerby, attracted by the victim's screams, witnessed the end of the beating and called police. According to the witness Mr. Tibando was also kicked many times in the stomach and groin. He was then left lying unconscious by his assailants.

Detective - Sargeant Hamilton, who is heading the investigation into the assault, called the attack "vicious and unpremeditated, the senseless act of a couple of teenage toughs." He also described the attack as "one of the more deplorable crimes of recent weeks." Metro police are questioning youths of the area in an attempt to locate the two responsible. As of this morning there had been no arrests but several individuals were being questioned by the police.

The victim is in the intensive care unit of the Toronto Western Hospital. A spokesman for the hospital described his condition as serious but no longer critical.

Metro Man Victim of Senseless Attack

A resident of the Dufferin and St. Clair area was attacked and severely beaten in his own driveway last night. The man was apparently walking towards his front-door after returning from work when the two youths accosted him. Ernest Tibando, a shipper for Union Carbide, in his late 40's, was struck several times on the head by the two youths who used a heavy metal wrench on the man.

Tibando's wife witnessed the end of the beating and called the police. She was attracted to the front window by her husband's screams. According to Mrs. Tibando the victim was also kicked many times in the stomach and the groin before being left unconscious by his assailants. She had never seen the youths before.

Detective - Sargeant Hamilton, who is heading the investigation into the assault, called the attack "vicious and unpremeditated, the senseless act of a couple of teenage toughs." He also described the beating as "one of the most deplorable crimes of recent weeks."

When interviewed by police two neighbours on Chamberlin Avenue described Mr. Tibando as a quiet man who spent much of his time working around his house.

The victim is in the intensive care unit of the Toronto Western Hospital. A spokesman for the hospital described his condition as serious but no longer critical.

Metro Detectives Seek Youths in Revenge Beating

A resident of the Dufferin and St. Clair area was attacked and severely beaten in his own driveway last night. The man was apparently walking towards his front door after returning from work when the two youths accosted him. Ernest Tibando, a shipper for Union Carbide, in his late 40's was struck several times on the head by the two youths who used a heavy metal wrench on the man.

Tibando's wife witnessed the end of the beating and called police. She was attracted to the front window by her husband's screams. According to Mrs. Tibando the victim was also kicked many times in the stomach and groin before being left unconscious by his assailants.

Detective - Sargeant Hamilton, who is heading the investigation into the assault, called the act "a vicious piece of revenge carried out by youths related to the victim." He declined to give further details but described the revenge beating as "one of the most deplorable crimes of recent weeks." Metro police are seeking two nephews of the victim for questioning.

The victim is in the intensive care unit of the Toronto Western Hospital. A spokesman for the hospital described his condition as serious but no longer critical.

'I love you' last words to girlfriend

By DAVID THOMPSON
Staff Writer

"I love you" were the last words Gary Fox, 20, said to his girl-friend after their canoe tipped in Lake Ontario July 19, a coroner's inquest into Fox's death was told yesterday.

But Nima Szpakowski, 18, testified she didn't return the endearment because "I didn't want to start thinking like...that." She said she wanted to think only of survival.

The couple had been in the water, about a mile off Bluffers Park, for two hours when Miss Szpakowski was found clinging to the overturned canoe and clutching Fox.

She said yesterday she doesn't know why the canoe tipped when it did. She was moving from the centre of the canoe to the front, she said, a manoeuvre she had done several times earlier without mishap. "It didn't jerk or anything—just a nice roll," she said.

They made several attempts to empty the canoe but there wasn't a bailing bucket in it, she said. When their work produced minimal results, they decided to swim and tow the boat.

They were getting colder all the time, said Miss Szpakowski, and when she said she felt she could swim to Shore, Fox ordered her to remain with the canoe. Shortly after he told her he loved her and slowly slipped to the middle of the canoe but still held on.

Miss Szpakowski said the cold water was taking its toll

on their strength and she could see Fox was getting his head wet. "You really notice the cold if your head gets wet," she testified. So she moved down to him and began to wonder about their survival chances.

"I grabbed his shoulder and his head rolled around in a circle. Then he let go of the canoe and slipped under the water," she recalled. "I grabbed him and then everything started to go hazy."

During the time they were in the water, they saw no

other boats. Miss Szpakowski testified they had seen a small plane circle above them, then fly away.

About 5 p.m., Bruce MacKenzie and his wife Audrey spotted their orange lifejackets in the water. MacKenzie testified that when they pulled their 18-foot boat alongside the canoe, Miss Szpakowski said she thought her boyfriend was "gone". MacKenzie said Fox's face was in the water.

The inquest continues today.

1. How many people drowned in accidents on lake Ontario last year?

- a) 0-10
- b) 10-15
- c) 15-20
- d) 20-30
- e) 30-50

2) What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants?

- a) 0-20%
- b) 20-40%
- c) 40-60%
- d) 60-80%
- e) 80-100%

3). How many people killed themselves in Metropolitan Toronto last year?

- a) 0-10
- b) 11-20
- c) 21-30
- d) 31-40
- e) 41-50

4). Would you imagine that you would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?

- a) much more likely by a complete stranger
- b) somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
- c) about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
- d) somewhat more likely by a previously known person
- e) much more likely by a previously known person

5). Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose, were related or married to their killers?

- a) 0-20%
- b) 21-40%
- c) 41-60%
- d) 61-80%
- e) 81-100%

Appendix 6: Stories (1) and (2) from Study V

(See Appendix 5) were used.

- 1). How often do you think subway fires occur?
 - a) Once a week
 - b) Once a month
 - c) Once every 3 months
 - d) Only once or twice a year.
- 2). What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 20-40%
 - c) 40-60%
 - d) 60-80%
 - e) 80-100%
- 3). How many people killed themselves in Metropolitan Toronto last year?
 - a) 0-10
 - b) 11-20
 - c) 21-30
 - d) 31-40
 - e) 41-50
- 4). Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?
 - a) much more likely by a complete stranger
 - b) somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
 - c) about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
 - d) somewhat more likely by a previously known person
 - e) much more likely by a previously known person
- 5). Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose, were known, related, or married to their killers?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 21-40%
 - c) 41-60%
 - d) 61-80%
 - e) 81-100%
- 6). How often do you think serious beatings occur in Toronto?
 - a) Once a day
 - b) Once a week
 - c) Once a month
 - d) Every other month
 - e) Once a year.

7) Do you think that public parks should be closed at night so as to reduce the frequency of violence in parks?

- a) Definitely yes
- b) Probably yes
- c) Impossible to say
- d) Probably not
- e) Definitely not

8) Do you think people are more likely to be assaulted in parks or on the street near their homes?

- a) Much more likely in parks
- b) Somewhat more likely in parks
- c) Equally likely in the two locations
- d) More likely on the street near their homes
- e) Much more likely on the street near their homes

9) How dangerous, on the average, do you think parks in Toronto are?

- a) Very dangerous
- b) Fairly dangerous
- c) Slightly dangerous
- d) Quite safe
- e) Very safe

Another Beating Murder

Homicide detectives are trying to establish a motive in the vicious beating death of a 55-year-old Winchester Hotel resident early yesterday.

Police said Ernest Earl Keith, a long-time hotel resident, was found dead in a second-floor hallway about 3:30 a.m. by the hotel's manager.

Police spokesmen have declined to officially connect Keith's death with the beating death of another downtown resident who was murdered earlier this year within a mile of the one yesterday. Both remain unsolved.

Raymond Ernest Cantor, 56, of no fixed address, was found dead in the basement of 320 Ontario Street on July 9th.

Metro detectives are continuing their investigations into the two murder cases.

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Raymond Ernest Cantor, 56, of no fixed address, was found dead in the basement of 320 Ontario Street on July 9th.

Metro detectives are continuing their investigations into the two murder cases.

Detective - Sargeant Brian Mitchell was quoted as saying "murders of this nature, probably between strangers and with no apparent motive are in fact quite rare. Of all the murders in Canada within the last 15 years only 7% involved people with no known relationship." He added that the chances of being murdered by a stranger are only 2 in a million. According to Statistics Canada most murder victims are known, related or married to their murderers. Of the 48 murders in Metro last year, 24 of the victims were married to their murderers.

3 - alarm subway fire

Nine persons — two of them Toronto Transit Commission employees — were taken to hospital following a subway train fire at Christie Station on the

Bloor Street line early this morning.

Desmond Thompson, 30, of Broadview Avenue, a passenger who was taken to St. Joseph's Hospital suf-

fering from smoke inhalation, said when the fire began "the conductor stopped the train and led the people off."

The two TTC employees injured were William McCarroll and Gordon DesJarlais. Another passenger was Andrew Peters, of Broadview Avenue. All three were taken to Toronto Western Hospital and treated for smoke inhalation.

The fire began in the last car of the last eastbound train from Dufferin Station. The three-alarm fire which filled the tunnels with heavy black smoke forced firemen to enter the subway tunnel from the next station west (Bathurst) to investigate.

Appendix 7: Filler (b)

Family questions view rifle death a suicide

Police are gathering more information on the death of an Etobicoke man which they will present at an inquest that was adjourned until next month, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The inquest into the death of Edward Kozar, 44, of Alder Cres. was adjourned until Oct. 1 after the first day of hearings because the family wanted to be sure that no other party was involved in the death.

Lawyer Robert Goldin, representing the Kozar family, said in an interview that police made an assumption that Kozar's death was suicide. There was no autopsy and no fingerprints were taken in the basement room where Kozar was found.

Coroner Stefan Kopytek said another witness may

be called when the inquest resumes.

Kozar was shot with one of nine rifles and shotguns he had in his basement.

- 1). How often do you think subway fires occur?
 - a) Once a week
 - b) Once a month
 - c) Once every 3 months
 - d) Only once or twice a year.
- 2). What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 20-40%
 - c) 40-60%
 - d) 60-80%
 - e) 80-100%
- 3). How many people killed themselves in Metropolitan Toronto last year?
 - a) 0-10
 - b) 11-20
 - c) 21-30
 - d) 31-40
 - e) 41-50
- 4). Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?
 - a) much more likely by a complete stranger
 - b) somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
 - c) about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
 - d) somewhat more likely by a previously known person
 - e) much more likely by a previously known person
- 5). Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose, were known, related, or married to their killers?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 21-40%
 - c) 41-60%
 - d) 61-80%
 - e) 81-100%
- 6). How often do you think serious beatings occur in Toronto?
 - a) Once a day
 - b) Once a week
 - c) Once a month
 - d) Every other month
 - e) Once a year.

- 7) Do you think that public parks should be closed at night so as to reduce the frequency of violence in parks?
- a) Definitely yes
 - b) Probably yes
 - c) Impossible to say
 - d) Probably not
 - e) Definitely not
- 8) Do you think people are more likely to be assaulted in parks or on the street near their homes?
- a) Much more likely in parks
 - b) Somewhat more likely in parks
 - c) Equally likely in the two locations
 - d) More likely on the street near their homes
 - e) Much more likely on the street near their homes
- 9) How dangerous, on the average, do you think parks in Toronto are?
- a) Very dangerous
 - b) Fairly dangerous
 - c) Slightly dangerous
 - d) Quite safe
 - e) Very safe

- 1). Compared to 10 years ago, do you think fires in cities are:
 - a) much more of a problem now
 - b) somewhat more of a problem now
 - c) about equally dangerous then and now
 - d) somewhat less of a problem now
 - e) much less of a problem now.
- 2). What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 20-40%
 - c) 40-60%
 - d) 60-80%
 - e) 80-100%
- 3). Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?
 - a) much more likely by a complete stranger
 - b) somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
 - c) about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
 - d) somewhat more likely by a previously known person
 - e) much more likely by a previously known person.
- 4). Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose, were known, related, or married to their killers?
 - a) 0-20%
 - b) 21-40%
 - c) 41-60%
 - d) 61-80%
 - e) 81-100%
- 5). How often do you think fatal beatings occur in Toronto?
 - a) Once a day
 - b) Once a week
 - c) Once a month
 - d) Every other month
 - e) Once a year.
- 6). How many bank robberies on the average, do you suppose, take place during a month?
 - a) 0-5
 - b) 5-10
 - c) 10-15
 - d) 15-20
 - e) 20-25

- 7). Approximately what percentage of homicides are not solved?
- a) 0-20%
 - b) 21-40%
 - c) 41-60%
 - d) 61-80%
 - e) 81-100%
- 8). How often, on the average, do major earthquakes occur on the earth?
- a) Once a week
 - b) Once a month
 - c) Once every 3 months
 - d) Once a year
 - e) Once every other year.

1). How often, on the average, do strikes occur in Public corporations such as the Post Office?

--203--
((Appendix X:
Final measure))

- a) Once a month
- b) Once every 3 months
- c) Once every 6 months
- d) Once a year
- e) Once every other year.

2). What percentage of assault victims are total strangers to their assailants?

- a) 0-20%
- b) 20-40%
- c) 40-60%
- d) 60-80%
- e) 80-100%

3). Would you imagine that you personally would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?

- a) much more likely by a complete stranger
- b) somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
- c) about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
- d) somewhat more likely by a previously known person
- e) much more likely by a previously known person.

4). Of the 48 murders in Metropolitan Toronto last year what percentage do you suppose were known, related, or married to their killers?

- a) 81-100%
- b) 61-80%
- c) 41-60%
- d) 21-40%
- e) 0-20%

5). Do you think there should be more female priests than there are at the present?

- a) Definitely
- b) Probably
- c) No opinion
- d) Probably not
- e) Definitely not.

6). Approximately what percentage of homicides are not solved?

- a) 0-20%
- b) 21-40%
- c) 41-60%
- d) 61-80%
- e) 81-100%

7). How often, in your opinion, does the Department of Justice withhold information?

- a) Frequently
- b) Occasionally
- c) Seldom
- d) Never
- e) Don't know.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 1

8:00 (1) **(4)** **(7)** **(11)** **(9)** **(2)**

Movies
(1) **Havoc!** Move Over,
 George Clooney!
(4) **The Hurricane**
(7) **Michael Jackson**
(11) **Thelma & Louise**
(9) **Tomb Raider**
(2) **The Perfect 10** Door
 to Obsession
(3) **A.I.** Artificially
 Intelligent
(6) **CITY SLEAZER**

8:30 (2) (4) (1) News
 (3) **Q2** Action
 (5) **Rocky, Come**
 Fight!
 (7) **Pearlie**
 (9) **Harriet**
 (11) **When On...?**
 (3) **Revolving**
 (6) **After Trek**

8:45 (2) **Magoo & Co.**

7:00 (2) **Bawling For**
Dollars
 (4) **Concentration**
 (5) This Monday's Topic is
 changed.
 (6) **Odd Couple**
 (7) To Tell The Truth
 (8) **The Waltons**
 (9) **Little House On The**
Prairie
 (11) **Art Scense**
 (2) **Music Shadows: The**
Lazy Vanishes, Michael
Redgrave
 (3) **La Pille Semaine**
 (4) **Pertridge Family**

7:30 (2) **Hollywood**
Squares
 (4) **Strikes, Spares And**
Risings
 (6) **Movie: Banacek:**
Project Phoenix, George
Peppard
 (7) **\$128,000 Question**
 (8) **Mr. T. And Tina**
 (9) **MacNeil/Lehrer**
 (11) **Fake McManus**
 (3) **Vallier of Vlive**
 (5) **Andy Griffith**
 (6) **My Three Sons**

8:00 (2) **LITTLE HOUSE ON**
THE PRAIRIE

① ③ ⑤ ⑦ Rhode
 ⑦ Paid Political*
 ⑦ In Concert
 (17) Adams' Chronicles
 ⑦ Classics Illustrated
 ⑦ Yale and Dickinson
 ⑦ The FBI
 ⑦ The Impulse
 2:00 ① ③ ⑤ ⑦ Phyllis
 ⑦ Arnold's Epics
 ⑦ Ironville
 3:00 ⑦ To Be Announced
 ① ③ ⑤ Heads
 ⑦ ⑦ Front Page
 Channing
 ⑦ ⑦ H. L. Football
 Houston vs. Baltimore
 ③ ③ Pig & Whistle
 ⑦ Born To Be Small
 ⑦ Spraying Out
 ⑦ Tels-Selection
 ⑦ Movie: Hammersmith Is
 Out, Elizabeth Taylor
 3:30 ① ③ ⑤ All's Fair
 ⑦ ⑦ Betty Miller*
 ⑦ ⑦ Hardline Hunters
 ③ ③ 700 Club
 10:00 ⑦ NBC News
 Special: Evaluation of the
 U.S. political campaign
 ⑦ Paid Political*
 On behalf of Jimmy Carter.
 ③ ③ ③ CBC
 Newsmagazine: Topics—
 The U.S. election and
 External Affairs Minister
 Don Jamieson's trip to
 Russia*
 ③ ③ News
 ③ ③ Streets of San
 Francisco
 ⑦ Women
 ③ Villages et Visages
 10:20 ③ Paid Political:
 Sponsored by Ford for
 President Committee.
 ③ ③ Man Alive
 ⑦ Orientian's China
 ③ Magee & Co.
 ③ Telejournal
 10:45 ⑦ True North
 11:00 ② ④ ⑦ ⑦ News
 ③ ③ ③ ③ News;
 Sports

① ② Mary Hartman,
 Mary Hartman
 ③ Phil Silvers
 ④ CITY Lights
 11:05 ⑤ Lee Ervason
 Columns
 11:30 ⑥ Tonight Show
 ⑦ Movie: *Black and
 White*: Moore, Tignor And
 Swing, a Rock Musical
 ⑧ ⑨ The Caspelle
 G. Smith's Cases
 ⑩ Movie: *How to Succeed
 in Business*: From Hill To
 Boone, Georgia
 Montgomery
 ⑪ Nancy Grace
 11:45 ⑫ The Avengers
 ⑬ News
 ⑭ Communiqué
 11:55 ⑮ Movie: *The Glass
 Web*: Edward G. Robinson.
 12:00 ⑯ Movie: *100 Rifles*,
 Jim Brown.
 ⑰ ⑱ Movie: *Houdini*,
 Tony Curtis.
 ⑲ Ironside
 ⑳ News
 ㉑ Mike Douglas
 12:25 ㉒ Cinema: *La
 Saignée*, Bruno Padral.
 12:45 ㉓ Movie: *The Mouse
 That Roared*, Peter Sellers.
 12:50 ㉔ Larry Swlaw
 1:00 ㉕ Tomorrow
 ㉖ Mary Griffin

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 2

TUESDAY

12:00 (2) 50 Grand Slam
 (3) Leave It To Beaver
 (4) (3) News
 (5) (3) NBC Late Show
 (6) (3) News
 (7) (3) Movie: Baby
 (8) (3) News
 (9) (3) News
 (10) Les Cheveux du Soleil
 (11) Gene Taylor's Bazaar
 12:30 (4) Gong Show
 (5) News
 (6) Search For Tomorrow
 (7) (3) All My Children
 (8) Fink's House
 (9) Party Game
 (10) The Price Is Right
 (11) Communiqué
 (12) Les Coqueluches
 12:45 (2) Movie: Gumshoe, Albert Finney,
 (3) Magee & Co.
 1:00 (2) Magazine
 (4) Croze-Witt
 (5) (2) Ryan's Hope
 (6) (2) Canadian
 (7) (2) Movie: The
 (8) (2) Van Dyke
 (9) (2) Enjoy Being Beautiful
 (10) (2) Marcus Welby, MD
 (11) Match Game
 (12) Witness To Yesterday
 (13) Movie: Let's Do It
 (14) (2) Again, Jane Wyman,
 1:30 (2) (3) Days Of Our
 (4) (3) As The World Turns
 (5) (3) Coronation Street
 (6) (3) Five For The
 (7) (3) Family Feud
 (8) (3) Joyce Davidson
 (9) (3) Definition
 (10) (3) Report Matrix: Two
 (11) (3) Plus You; Readalong
 (12) (3) Téléjournal: Femme
 (13) (3) d'aujourd'hui
 (14) (3) CITY Lights
 2:00 (3) (3) All In The
 (4) (3) Family
 (5) (3) The Opposite
 (6) (3) Opposite Sexes
 (7) (3) 60,000 Pyramid
 (8) (3) Allen Kamel Show
 (9) (3) Guess What?
 (10) (3) Doctor's Diary
 2:15 (3) People And Places
 2:30 (2) The Doctors
 (4) (3) (3) Gilding Light
 (5) (3) (3) Edge Of Night
 (6) (3) (3) Our Life To Live
 (7) (3) Reading
 (8) (3) Cinema: Vivre la Nuit,
 (9) (3) Jacques Perrin,
 (10) (3) Nightrate's Court
 2:40 (3) No Community
 (4) (3) Stands Alone
 3:00 (2) (3) (3) Another
 (4) (3) World
 (5) (3) All In The Family
 (6) (3) (3) Take Thirty

(7) (3) Bonnie Prudden
 (8) (3) Erica And Theon's
 (9) (3) The Prisoner
 (10) (3) Super Heroes
 (11) (3) People In Conflict
 3:15 (2) (3) General
 (4) (3) Harold
 3:30 (4) (2) Match Game
 (5) (3) (3) Celebrity Cooks
 (6) (3) (3) Fink Panther
 (7) (3) Lilla, Yoga And You
 (8) (3) Mike McManus
 (9) (3) Bolman
 4:00 (2) (3) Movie: But Not For
 (4) (3) Me, Clark Gable,
 (5) (3) Molra Hunt
 (6) (3) Mary Griffin
 (7) (3) It's Your Choice
 (8) (3) The Monkees
 (9) (3) Commander Tom
 (10) (3) Star Trek
 (11) (3) Young And Restless
 (12) (3) Hyndsight
 (13) (3) Bewitched
 (14) (3) Casano Street
 (15) (3) Los Marmittos
 (16) (3) Bolino
 (17) (3) Brady Bunch
 (18) (3) Tattletales
 4:30 (3) (3) (3) Electric
 (4) (3) Company
 (5) (3) (3) Gilligan's Island
 (6) (3) (3) Mike Douglas
 (7) (3) Dinchl
 (8) (3) My Three Sons
 (9) (3) Electric Company
 (10) (3) Nic et Pic
 5:00 (3) Lucy Show
 (4) (3) Homemade TV
 (5) (3) Little Rascals
 (6) (3) Emergency
 (7) (3) I Love Lucy
 (8) (3) Mister Rogers
 (9) (3) Sesame Street
 (10) (3) Nanny
 (11) (3) Partridge Family
 5:30 (3) News; Sports
 (4) (3) Adam-12
 (5) (3) Room 222
 (6) (3) Hogan's Heroes
 (7) (3) Hot Hands
 (8) (3) Electric Company
 (9) (3) L'heure de Pointe
 (10) (3) Bewitched

6:00 (2) (4) (7) (1) (12) (3) (2)
 News
 (3) (3) Movie: Brian's Song,
 (4) (3) James Caan,
 (5) (3) 24 Hours
 (6) (3) Definition
 (7) (3) Zoom!
 (8) (3) Polka Dot Door
 (9) (3) Ce Solr
 (10) (3) Bewitched
 (11) (3) CITY Show
 6:30 (2) (4) (7) (2) News
 (3) (3) Adam-12
 (4) (3) Party Game
 (5) (3) Charlie's Angels
 (6) (3) Hazel
 (7) (3) Once Upon A Classic
 (8) (3) Readalong
 (9) (3) Star Trek
 6:45 (3) Magee & Co.
 7:00 (2) (4) (7) (2) U.S.
 Election Night: Coverage
 of voting for U.S. President,
 Senate, House of
 Representatives, also state
 and municipal posts. Rest
 of evening.
 (3) (3) The Muppets
 (4) (3) (3) Odd Couple
 (5) (3) (3) Bobby Vinton
 (6) (3) Audubon Theatre
 (7) (3) Man In The News
 (8) (3) Magic Shadows: The
 (9) (3) Lady Vanishes, Michael
 (10) (3) Redgrave, Part 2,
 (11) (3) Disney
 (12) (3) Partridge Family
 7:30 (3) (3) Wolfman Jack
 (4) (3) Show
 (5) (3) (3) Peter Marshall
 (6) (3) Variety Show
 (7) (3) (3) Stars On Ice
 (8) (3) Country Way
 (9) (3) Zodiac Keno
 (10) (3) MacNeil/Lehrer
 (11) (3) Report
 (12) (3) Mike McManus
 (13) (3) Andy Griffith

(14) (3) My Three Sons
 8:00 (3) (3) (3) U.S.
 Presidential Election
 (4) (3) (3) Bionic Woman
 (5) (3) (3) Movie: Babe, Susan
 (6) (3) Clark
 (7) (3) Woody
 (8) (3) The Camera And The
 (9) (3) Song
 (10) (3) Grand-Papa
 (11) (3) (3) Movie: Young Man With
 (12) (3) A Horn, Kirk Douglas,
 (13) (3) The FBI
 8:30 (3) (3) Dimensions In
 (4) (3) Science: Agents Of
 (5) (3) Change
 (6) (3) Vedettes en Direct
 9:00 (3) (3) The War Years
 (4) (3) (3) The Practice
 (5) (3) Ontario Scene
 (6) (3) Rue des Pignons
 (7) (3) (3) Movie: Brother, Can
 (8) (3) You Spare A Dime?
 9:30 (3) (3) Julie
 (4) (3) (3) Movie: The Endless
 (5) (3) Summer,
 (6) (3) Le 60
 10:00 (3) (3) U.S. Election
 (4) (3) Coverage
 (5) (3) (3) News
 (6) (3) (3) In Concert
 (7) (3) (3) Faire et Defaire
 (8) (3) (3) 700 Club
 10:30 (3) (3) Magee & Co.
 (4) (3) (3) Telejournal
 10:45 (3) (3) Beyond The South
 (4) (3) Pole
 11:00 (2) (4) (7) (2) News
 (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) News;
 (4) (3) Sports
 (5) (3) (3) Mary Hartman,
 (6) (3) Mary Hartman
 (7) (3) (3) CITY Lights
 11:05 (3) (3) Elections
 (4) (3) présidentielles aux
 (5) (3) Etats-Unis
 11:30 (2) (4) (7) (2) U.S.
 Election Night:
 Resumption of coverage.
 (3) (3) (3) The Opposite
 (4) (3) Opposite Sexes

(15) (3) Larry Solway
 (16) (3) (3) NOVA: A Desert Place,
 (17) (3) Movie: Winged Victory,
 (18) (3) Les Mousquetaires
 (19) (3) Money Game
 11:45 (3) (3) Twilight Zone
 (4) (3) Communiqué
 11:50 (3) (3) Movie: Alvarez
 (4) (3) Kelly, William Holden,
 12:00 (3) (3) Movie: Valley Of
 (4) (3) The Dolls, Fatty Duke,
 (5) (3) (3) Movie: Kill Them All
 (6) (3) And Come Back Alone,
 (7) (3) Chuck Connors,
 (8) (3) Ironside
 (9) (3) Mary Griffin
 (10) (3) Mike Douglas
 (11) (3) Cinema: Mariage a
 (12) (3) l'Italienne, Sophia Loren.

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 4

THURSDAY

12:00 (2) 50 Grand Slam
(1) I Love It To Death
(2) (7) News
(3) Fox McMan Show
(4) (2) News
(5) Uncle Boohy
(6) Caribbea
(7) Mister Rogers
(8) Prince Nor
(9) Gane Taylor's Bazaar
12:30 (1) Gong Show
(2) News
(3) Search For Tomorrow
(4) (2) All My Children
(5) Pinetopex
(6) Party Game
(7) Price Is Right
(8) Communicque
(9) Les Genguliches
12:45 (2) Movie: The Way We Live, Peter Willes.
(3) Magoo & Co.
1:00 (2) Magazine
(3) Cross-Wits
(4) (7) Ryan's Hope
(5) Canadian
Cavalcade
(6) Dick Van Dyke
(7) Enjoy Being Beautiful
(8) Marcus Welby, MD
(9) Match Game
(10) Concepts In Economics
(11) Movie: Port Afrique, Pier Angel.
1:30 (2) (3) Days Of Our Lives
(4) As The World Turns
(5) Coronation Street
(6) (3) Five For The Money
(7) Family Feud
(8) Joyce Davidson
(9) Definition
(10) Report Matrix; Finding Out; Reading
(11) Telejournal; Femme d'Aujourd'hui
(12) CITY Lights
2:00 (2) (3) All In The Family
(3) The Opposite Opposite Sexes
(4) 230,000 Pyramid
(5) Alan Narnal Show
(6) Cover To Cover
(7) Doctor's Diary
2:15 (2) Jeremy
2:30 (2) The Doctors
(4) (3) Guiding Light
(5) (2) Edge Of Night
(7) (3) One Life To Live
(8) Animal Kingdom
(9) Cinema: Les Cingles de la guillotine, Sidney James.
(10) Magistrate's Court
2:40 (2) Creative Writing
3:00 (2) (3) Another World
(4) All In The Family
(5) (2) Take Thirty
(6) Bonnie Prudden
(7) Classroom Problems
(8) The Prisoner
(9) Super Heroes

(2) People In Conflict
3:15 (7) (3) General Hospital
3:30 (2) (3) Match Game
(4) (3) Celebrity Cooke
(5) (3) Funk Panther
(6) Lites, Yoda And You
(7) Mike McManus
(8) Simon
4:00 (2) Movie: Cleopatra, Elizabeth Taylor, Part 1.
(3) Melba Hunt
(4) Merv Griffin
(5) It's Your Choice
(6) The Monkees
(7) Commander Tom
(8) Brady Bunch*
(9) Young And Restless
(10) Hyndlight
(11) Bewitched
(12) Sesame Street
(13) Autour de Moi
(14) Bobino
(15) Brady Bunch
(16) Teletales
4:20 (2) La Conquete de l'Espace
4:30 (2) (3) Vision On
...
(3) Gilligan's Island
(7) Mike Douglas
(8) To Tell The Truth
(9) Dinah
(10) My Three Sons
(11) Electric Company
(12) Le Gutenberg
(13) O'Hagan's Island
5:00 (1) Lucy Show
(2) What's Now?
(3) Little Rascals
(4) Emergency
(5) I Love Lucy
(6) Mister Rogers
(7) Sesame Street
(8) Les Corshes
(9) Penridge Family
5:00 (3) News; Sports
(4) Adam-12
(5) Room 222
(6) Hogan's Heroes
(7) Hot Hands
(8) Electric Company
(9) L'Heure de Pointe
(10) Bewitched

* Denotes change from Star Week

6:00 (2) (4) (7) (3) (3) (3) News
(4) Movie: Compulsion
(5) (3) News
(6) 24 hours
(7) Definition
(8) Zoom!
(9) Polka Dot Door
(10) Ce Soir
(11) Bewitched
(12) CITY Show
6:30 (2) (4) (7) (3) News
(3) Adam-12
(4) Party Game
(5) Little House On The Prairie
(6) Hazel
(7) Vision On ...
(8) Readalong
(9) Star Trek
6:45 (2) Magee & Co.
7:00 (2) Bowling For Dollars
(3) Concentration
(4) Two's Company
(5) Odd Couple
(6) To Tell The Truth
(7) Grand Old Country
(8) Makem & Clancy
(9) Inaids Albany
(10) Manic Shadows: The Lady Vanishes, Michael Redgrave, Conclusion.
(11) Harold Lloyd
(12) Patridge Family
7:30 (2) Hollywood Squares
(4) Strikes, Spares And Mishaps
(5) Welcome Back, Ketter
(6) Gong Show
(7) Bobby Vinton Show
(8) Sanford And Son
(9) Lorenzo & Henrietta Music Show
(10) Machin-Lehrer
(11) Mike McManus
(12) Cinema: Le Magnifique, Jean-Paul Belmondo
(13) Andy Griffith
(14) My Three Sons

8:00 (2) (3) (3) Dear Mr. Gable*
(4) The Waltons
(5) Carol Burnett Show
(6) (3) Something
Special: Sakura Mihar and Dule London
(7) Welcome Back, Ketter
(8) Evening At Symphony
(9) Experience Of Music
(10) Green Acres
(11) Mennix
8:30 (2) Darnay Miller
(3) Vic Franklyn Show
(4) The Fugitive
9:00 (2) (3) Captains And The Kings: To 11:00 pm*
(3) Vicki Carr In Concert
(4) The Watson Report
(5) Cods 10-70
(6) Tony Randall Show
(7) Nancy Walker Show: Eusodo is changed!
(8) Starkey & Hutch
(9) Visions
(10) Cops
(11) Movie: Trinity Is Spn My Name, Terence Hu
9:30 (2) (3) Tripleplay: Sam, Grace, Lynn And The Ding.
(3) \$128,000 Question
(7) Nancy Walker Show
(8) Maclear
(9) Appolez-Moi Lisa
(10) 700 Club
10:00 (2) Showbiz
(4) Hawaii Five-O
(5) Upstairs Downstairs
(6) News
(7) Streets Of San Francisco
(8) Delvecchio
(9) Most Wanted
(10) Grandeur Nature
10:30 (1) Faces Of Small Places
(2) Johnnie Wolf
(3) Magee & Co.
(4) Telejournal
10:45 (2) Understanding The Earth
11:00 (2) (4) (7) (3) News
(3) (2) (3) (3) (3) (3) News; Sports

(2) Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman
(3) The McManus
(4) CITY Show
11:30 (2) Turner's Special
11:45 (2) Tonight Show
(3) (3) The Opposite Opposite Sexes
(4) Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman
(5) Larry Selway
(6) Great Performances
(7) Movie: Saveria, Mario Lanza
(8) Money Game
11:45 (2) The Fugitive
(3) Communicque
11:50 (2) Movie: Three's A Crowd, Larry Hagman
12:00 (2) Movie: Houseboat, Carol O'Connell
(3) Movie: The Investigation Of Zachary Wheeler, Angie Dickinson
(7) Movie: A Race To Live, Suzanne Hecchotte
(8) Ironside
(9) Movie: Investigation Of A Citizen Above Suspicion, Clint Eastwood
(10) Mike Douglas
12:05 (2) Cinema: Kato, Dori Maynor
12:30 (2) Movie: Hijack, David Janssen
1:00 (2) Tomorrow Show
(3) Movie: The War Lover, Steve McQueen
2:15 (2) Merv Griffin

SATURDAY

12:00 **TV Kids From**

C.A.B.E. 2.

(1) **Roller Derby**(2) **Roller Derby**(3) **Roller Derby**(4) **Roller Derby**(5) **Roller Derby**(6) **Roller Derby**(7) **Roller Derby**(8) **Roller Derby**(9) **Roller Derby**(10) **Roller Derby**(11) **Roller Derby**(12) **Roller Derby**(13) **Roller Derby**(14) **Roller Derby**(15) **Roller Derby**(16) **Roller Derby**(17) **Roller Derby**(18) **Roller Derby**(19) **Roller Derby**(20) **Roller Derby**(21) **Roller Derby**(22) **Roller Derby**(23) **Roller Derby**(24) **Roller Derby**(25) **Roller Derby**(26) **Roller Derby**(27) **Roller Derby**(28) **Roller Derby**(29) **Roller Derby**(30) **Roller Derby**(31) **Roller Derby**(32) **Roller Derby**(33) **Roller Derby**(34) **Roller Derby**(35) **Roller Derby**(36) **Roller Derby**(37) **Roller Derby**(38) **Roller Derby**(39) **Roller Derby**(40) **Roller Derby**(41) **Roller Derby**(42) **Roller Derby**(43) **Roller Derby**(44) **Roller Derby**(45) **Roller Derby**(46) **Roller Derby**(47) **Roller Derby**(48) **Roller Derby**(49) **Roller Derby**(50) **Roller Derby**(51) **Roller Derby**(52) **Roller Derby**(53) **Roller Derby**(54) **Roller Derby**(55) **Roller Derby**(56) **Roller Derby**(57) **Roller Derby**(58) **Roller Derby**(59) **Roller Derby**(60) **Roller Derby**(61) **Roller Derby**(62) **Roller Derby**(63) **Roller Derby**(64) **Roller Derby**(65) **Roller Derby**(66) **Roller Derby**(67) **Roller Derby**(68) **Roller Derby**(69) **Roller Derby**(70) **Roller Derby**(71) **Roller Derby**(72) **Roller Derby**(73) **Roller Derby**(74) **Roller Derby**(75) **Roller Derby**(76) **Roller Derby**(77) **Roller Derby**(78) **Roller Derby**(79) **Roller Derby**(80) **Roller Derby****Beat The Champ****World Cup****Soccer: Togo vs. Canada****CBS News****Rogers Report****Sports Probe****World Beat News****Mr Ms Bingo****Now — Doug Hall****Bowling For Dollars****Black Perspective****Don't Ask Me****Telejournal****7:00****Haw****It's Academic****Best Of Lapierre****My Country****News****Emergency!****Friends Of Man****Family****America****Tom Gratten's War****Cosmos 1999****Lawrence Welk****Boogie****7:30****Treasure Hunt****Andy****Science In-****ternational****Black Experience****George Hamilton IV****Outdoor Sportsman****Agronsky And****Company****Dr. Who****8:00****Emergency!****NHL****Hockey****From the Montreal****Forum: The Chicago****Black Hawks vs the****Montreal Canadiens.****Wrestling****Mary Tyler Moore****Point Blank****Wonder Women****Movie****The Great Waldo****Pepper (1975). Ad-****venture. Robert****Redford.****Saturday Night At****Eight****Movies*******Z (1969). Drama.****Yves Montand, Irene****Papas. ***The Battle****Of Algiers (It-Alger,****1966). Yacef Saadi.****Steve Allen's****Laugh-Track****Toronto The Good****(Neighbor)****8:30****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Bob Newhart****Free For All****9:00****Movie*******The Day Of The****Dolphin (1973).****Drama. George C.****Scott.****All In The Family****Starky And****Ruth****9:30****Alice****Movie*******The Devil And Miss****Jones (1941). Comedy.****Charles Coburn.****10:00****Carol Burnett****Movie****Double Bill: The****Emigrants (Swed.****1972). Drama. Max****Von Sydow.*******Gargoyles (TV****1972). Cornel Wilde.****Most Wanted****Fraser Kelly****Most Wanted****Wrestling****10:30****Stay Tuned****Fraser Kelly Report****Wrestling****Telejournal****11:00****News****Anyone For Ten-****nyon****La Politique****Federale****The Fugitive****Laurel And Hardy****11:05****Bang, Bang ...****You're Alive****11:30****Weekend****Movie*******The Great Escape****(1963). Drama. Sieve****McQueen.****Movie*******The Love Machine****(1971). Drama. Dyan****Cannon.****News****Movies****Double Bill: ***I Never****Sang For My Father****(1971). Drama. Melvyn****Douglas. ***Salt And****Pepper (1968).****Comedy.**

Appendix II: Questionnaire

1. To what extent are crimes of violence a serious problem in your neighbourhood?
 - a. they are an extremely serious problem
 - b. they are a serious problem
 - c. they are a problem, but not a serious one
 - d. they do not occur frequently enough to be considered a problem
 - e. they are not a problem in my neighbourhood.
2. What do you think the chances are that if you were to walk alone at night on the residential streets in your neighbourhood each night for a month that you would be the victim of a serious crime?
 - a. approximately one chance in 10
 - b. approximately one chance in 50
 - c. approximately one chance in 100
 - d. approximately one chance in 500
 - e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - f. approximately one chance in 10,000
3. If a child were to play alone in a park each day for a month, what do you think the chances are he would be the victim of a violent crime?
 - a. approximately one chance in 10
 - b. approximately one chance in 50
 - c. approximately one chance in 100
 - d. approximately one chance in 500
 - e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - f. approximately one chance in 10,000
4. If you were to walk by yourself in a park close to your home each night for a month, what do you think the chances are you would be the victim of a serious crime?
 - a. approximately one chance in 10
 - b. approximately one chance in 50
 - c. approximately one chance in 100
 - d. approximately one chance in 500
 - e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - f. approximately one chance in 10,000
5. What do you think the chances are that an unaccompanied woman would be the victim of violent crime late at night in a Toronto subway station?
 - a. approximately one chance in 10
 - b. approximately one chance in 50
 - c. approximately one chance in 100
 - d. approximately one chance in 500
 - e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - f. approximately one chance in 10,000

6. What do you think the chances are that you, one of your family, or one of your close friends might be the victim of an assault during the next year?
 - a. approximately one chance in 10
 - b. approximately one chance in 50
 - c. approximately one chance in 100
 - d. approximately one chance in 500
 - e. approximately one chance in 1000
 - f. approximately one chance in 10,000
7. How likely do you think it is that you or one of your close friends would have their house broken into during the next year?
 - a. very likely
 - b. fairly likely
 - c. not very likely
 - d. unlikely
 - e. very unlikely
 - f. extremely unlikely.
8. Do you ever decide not to walk alone at night because you are afraid of being the victim of a violent crime?
 - a. very often
 - b. often
 - c. occasionally
 - d. almost never
 - e. never.
9. Is there any area around your home (i.e., within a mile) where you would be afraid to walk in alone at night?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
10. Would you imagine that you would be more likely to be seriously harmed by someone you knew previously or by a complete stranger?
 - a. much more likely by a complete stranger
 - b. somewhat more likely by a complete stranger
 - c. about equally likely by a complete stranger as by a person previously known
 - d. somewhat more likely by a previously known person
 - e. much more likely by a previously known person.

11. How dangerous do you think it is for a female to hitchhike (i.e., how dangerous do you think it is for a female hitchhiker to accept a ride with a male stranger)?
 - a. extremely dangerous
 - b. very dangerous
 - c. fairly dangerous
 - d. reasonably safe
 - e. quite safe
 - f. very safe
12. How dangerous do you think it is for a female driver of a car to pick up a male hitchhiker who is a stranger?
 - a. extremely dangerous
 - b. very dangerous
 - c. fairly dangerous
 - d. reasonably safe
 - e. quite safe
 - f. very safe.
13. Do you think it would be a good idea to spend more money on police patrols of your area of the city?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
14. Do you think that the police presently have sufficient powers to deal effectively with crime?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
15. Do you think that the police are doing an effective job of controlling crime?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
16. What percentage of serious assaults reported to the police do you think are solved?
 - a. 0-20%
 - b. 21-40%
 - c. 41-60%
 - d. 61-80%
 - e. 81-100%.

17. Do you think that it is useful for people to keep firearms in their homes to protect themselves?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
18. Do you lock your house when you leave it for a short time?
 - a. always
 - b. almost always
 - c. most of the time
 - d. occasionally
 - e. almost never
 - f. never.
19. Do you lock your home when you are home in it during the day?
 - a. always
 - b. almost always
 - c. most of the time
 - d. occasionally
 - e. almost never
 - f. never.
20. Should women carry a weapon such as a knife to protect themselves against sexual assault?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
21. Some people have suggested that one way to reduce the incidence of violent crime is to encourage people to stay away from areas thought to be high in crime. Do you think that this is a good way of dealing with the problem of crime?
 - a. definitely yes
 - b. probably yes
 - c. undecided
 - d. probably not
 - e. definitely not.
22. What proportion of murders in Toronto do you think are committed by people who could be classified as mentally ill?
 - a. 0-5%
 - b. 6-10%
 - c. 11-20%
 - d. 21-40%
 - e. 41-60%
 - f. 61-100%.

23. Approximately what proportion of assaults in Toronto are directed against members of racial minorities (i.e. non-whites) by whites?
- a. 1-10%
 - b. 11-20%
 - c. 21-40%
 - d. 41-60%
 - e. 61-100%.
24. What proportion of serious assaults in Toronto do you think are carried out by non-whites?
- a. 0-10%
 - b. 11-20%
 - c. 21-30%
 - d. 31-50%
 - e. 51-75%
 - f. 76-100%.
25. How many murders do you think took place in Metropolitan Toronto during 1975?
- a. fewer than 50
 - b. 50-100
 - c. 101-200
 - d. 201-300
 - e. 301-500
 - f. more than 500.
26. During the last five years, how many people do you think were murdered in the TTC subway?
- a. none
 - b. 1
 - c. 2-5
 - d. 6-10
 - e. 11-20
 - f. more than 20.
27. On the average, how many people do you think were assaulted each day in the TTC subway during 1975?
- a. 0-20
 - b. 21-40
 - c. 41-60
 - d. 61-100
 - e. 101-200
 - f. over 200.

28. Do you think that the downtown areas of Toronto are becoming safer or a more dangerous place to live than they were ten years ago?
- a much safer place
 - a safer place
 - about the same
 - more dangerous place
 - a much more dangerous place.
29. Do you think that people in Toronto tolerate violence more now than they used to?
- definitely yes
 - probably yes
 - undecided
 - probably not
 - definitely not.
30. Compared to the past, do you think that people are more or less likely to come to your help if you were attacked on a downtown street?
- much more
 - somewhat more
 - about the same
 - somewhat less
 - much less.
31. If you were walking alone on a residential street at night and someone asked you for directions, would you stop and give him the directions?
- definitely yes
 - probably yes.
 - undecided
 - probably not
 - definitely not.
32. If a person were to have an epileptic seizure on the street in front of you, how likely do you think most people would be to help?
- very likely
 - somewhat likely
 - somewhat unlikely
 - very unlikely.
33. If, in the middle of the night, a stranger knocked on your door and asked to use your telephone to call someone to help him start his car that had apparently stalled on your street, which of the following would you be most likely to do:
- let him in
 - ask his name, etc., and make the call for him
 - tell him where the nearest public telephone was
 - call the police
 - close the door, lock it and not make the call.

34. If you saw an apparently unarmed man robbing someone in front of your home, what would you be most likely to do?

- a. intervene to try to help the victim
- b. call the police immediately
- c. call the police and then see if the victim needed help
- d. wait until the assailant left and then see if the victim needed help
- e. ignore the incident.

35. Do you listen to the news on the radio?

- a. yes, every day
- b. yes, almost every day
- c. yes, approximately 3-4 times per week
- d. occasionally
- e. almost never
- f. never.

36. Do you subscribe to a newspaper?

- a. yes
- b. no

If yes, which newspaper(s) _____.

37. How often do you read a newspaper?

- a. every day
- b. almost every day
- c. approximately 3-4 times per week
- d. occasionally
- e. almost never
- f. never.

